

Sociology and Social ... Research ...

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

| | |
|--|----|
| Personal Adjustments of Old People . . . | 3 |
| JU-SHU PAN | |
| Status Background of Veteran College Students | 12 |
| D. D. STEWART AND R. P. CHAMBERS | |
| Ethnic Attitudes of College Students . . . | 22 |
| EUGENE S. RICHARDS | |
| Negro Masses and Leaders | 31 |
| HUGH H. SMYTHE | |
| Differential Distance Attitudes among Adolescents | 38 |
| Q. F. SCHENK AND A. K. ROMNEY | |
| Mate Selection among Negro and White College Students | 46 |
| M. B. SUSSMAN AND H. C. YEAGER, JR. | |
| Reducing Racial Tensions | 50 |
| EMORY S. BOGARDUS | |
| Social Theory | 58 |
| Social Welfare | 69 |
| Races and Culture | 77 |

R v.35 1950/51

Sociology and Social Research

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

PUBLISHED BIMONTHLY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

3518 UNIVERSITY AVENUE, LOS ANGELES 7, CALIFORNIA

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, \$3.50

SINGLE COPIES, 70¢

Entered as second-class matter March 31, 1936, at the post office at Los Angeles, California, under the act of March 3, 1879.

Editor

Emory S. Bogardus

Managing Editor

Martin H. Neumeyer

Associate Editors

Harvey J. Locke

George B. Mangold

Bessie A. McClenahan

Edward C. McDonagh

John E. Nordskog

Melvin J. Vincent

Erle F. Young

University of
Southern California

Cooperating Editors

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| Leonard Bloom..... | University of California at Los Angeles |
| Ernest W. Burgess..... | University of Chicago |
| F. Stuart Chapin..... | University of Minnesota |
| Carl A. Dawson..... | McGill University, Canada |
| George M. Day..... | Occidental College |
| Guillaume L. Duprat..... | University of Geneva, Switzerland |
| A. B. Hollingshead..... | Yale University |
| William Kirk..... | Pomona College |
| Paul H. Landis..... | State College of Washington |
| Andrew W. Lind..... | University of Hawaii, Hawaii |
| George A. Lundberg..... | University of Washington |
| Elon H. Moore..... | University of Oregon |
| Otakar Machotka..... | Cornell University |
| Radhakamal Mukerjee..... | Lucknow University, India |
| Meyer F. Nimkoff..... | Florida State University |
| Howard W. Odum..... | University of North Carolina |
| Raul A. Orgaz..... | University of Cordoba, Argentina |
| Edward A. Ross..... | University of Wisconsin |
| Pitirim A. Sorokin..... | Harvard University |
| Kimball Young..... | Northwestern University |
| Florian Znaniecki..... | University of Illinois |

PUBLISHED BY

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA PRESS

3518 UNIVERSITY AVENUE

LOS ANGELES 7, CALIFORNIA

SS

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

September-October 1950

PERSONAL ADJUSTMENTS OF OLD PEOPLE A STUDY OF OLD PEOPLE IN PROTESTANT CHURCH HOMES FOR THE AGED*

JU-SHU PAN
University of Chicago

The purpose of this study is to indicate, as far as feasible, the influence which institutionalization has on the problem of adjustment in old age. The study attempts to investigate two questions: (1) the factors affecting adjustment of individuals in institutions as compared with persons in the general population and (2) the relation between their activities and attitude scores and those factors making for successful or unsuccessful adjustment.

At the present time the problem of housing and living arrangements for old people is crucial; with longer life, more old people reach a stage when they are unable to maintain an independent household; or reduced income or the death of husband or wife forces a change. Alternatives are institutions for the old, the home of an adult son or daughter, or rooming houses or hotels.¹

This dissertation reports a study made of 730 old people selected from homes for the aged sponsored by Protestant religious groups in the northern part of the United States. The findings were compared with those of a similar study made by Ruth S. Cavan of 499 males and 759 females, most of whom lived in their own homes.

A knowledge of the various characteristics of the two groups under different conditions was believed to be relevant to the problem of sampling, since it would indicate the degree of adjustment in addition to testing for the probability that the percentage difference within items was due to chance. Critical ratios were calculated for all items which appeared to be appreciably associated with personal and social characteristics in the study. Because of the small number of cases of men

*The present paper was written under the direction of E. W. Burgess, P. M. Hauser, and R. J. Havighurst of the Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, and was financed by the National Institute of Health.

¹ Ruth S. Cavan, "Family Life and Family Substitutes in Old Age," *American Sociological Review*, 14:72, February 1949.

(133) in this study it was not feasible to compare them with Cavan's male cases. The comparisons, therefore, have almost always been limited to the women in the two groups. The following interpretations are confined to a consideration of the female in the two studies.

| Item | Present Study Per Cent | Cavan Study Per Cent | C.R. |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|------|
| Composition of age | 77.0 | 72.1 | 6.8 |
| Sex distribution | 81.8 | 60.4 | 10.0 |
| Median years of schooling | 11.8 | 10.9 | |
| Marital status | | | |
| Never married | 38.9 | 13.5 | 5.4 |
| Married and living with spouse . | 7.2 | 32.2 | 4.5 |

In order to determine general trends in the adjustment of institutionalized old people their responses in various fields of adult activities were examined. A hypothesis was formulated in each of several different fields of activities which seemed applicable to persons of later maturity, and the reactions and activities of the group were studied both in relation to the findings of previous studies and as a means of confirming or disproving the proposed hypothesis.

HEALTH STATUS

Hypothesis. Institutionalization of old people reduces neurotic symptoms, serious illness, special health care, and physical difficulties.

Differences in health status between the institutionalized group of the present study of 597 female cases from Protestant church homes and the noninstitutionalized group of the Cavan study of 759 female cases from old people living outside the institutions are indicated in the following items:

| Item | Present Study Per Cent | Cavan Study Per Cent | C.R. |
|------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|------|
| Neurotic symptoms | | | |
| None | 37.3 | 28.5 | 3.9 |
| One | 28.9 | 21.3 | 2.2 |
| Two | 16.3 | 20.4 | 2.3 |
| Degree of illness | | | |
| Constant illness | 18.0 | 26.1 | 4.3 |
| Slight illness | 31.6 | 43.4 | 4.8 |

Thus, the fact that the subjects in the present study, although they are older, have fewer neurotic symptoms and less illness than Cavan's mixed group tends to confirm the hypothesis that institutionalization of old people is conducive to good health and reduces the need for special health care by others.

FAMILY AND HOME CONDITIONS

Hypothesis. Institutionalized old people have a higher proportion of unmarried cases and, although those who have been married consider their married life above "average" in respect to happiness, both the married and unmarried cases are associated with unfavorable family relationships and therefore prefer to live in the institution. Differences in family and home conditions are indicated in the following items:

| Item | Present Study Per Cent | Cavan Study Per Cent | C.R. |
|--|---------------------------|-------------------------|------|
| Possess children and relatives | | | |
| Without children and relatives ... | 35.4 | 9.6 | 11.4 |
| Without children but with relatives | 28.0 | 17.6 | 5.2 |
| With children but without relatives | 9.5 | 17.2 | 4.5 |
| With both children and relatives | 27.1 | 55.6 | 12.9 |
| Parent-child relationship | | | |
| Poor or worse | 12.1 | 20.9 | 6.1 |
| Living arrangement | | | |
| By choice | 45.0 | 62.7 | 7.7 |
| By both choice and necessity | 48.3 | 28.1 | 8.0 |

The findings indicate that the subjects in the present study show a less cordial relationship to their children than was found in the Cavan study. Also, even though old people living outside the institution may have more favorable living arrangements, the greater percentage of cases in the institution are residing there by choice rather than by necessity, the proportion of "by necessity" in both studies being less than one out of ten.

RELATION OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION TO RETIREMENT

Hypothesis. The length of residence in the institution is associated with the length of retirement from active service. The longer the period

of retirement; the longer they have been living in the institution and the more aged they consider themselves.

In the present study approximately 50 per cent of the cases have lived in the institution less than three years, 56.7 per cent having retired within ten years. Their self-rating as to which age group they belong to is as follows:

| Item | Present Study Per Cent | Cavan Study Per Cent | C.R. |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|------|
| Self-rating of age group | | | |
| Aged | 21.0 | 7.3 | 6.0 |
| Old | 22.5 | 16.4 | 2.9 |
| Middle-aged | 9.8 | 30.1 | 14.5 |

In the present study the cases are four to five years older than those of Cavan's study. The table indicates that institutionalized old people are self-conscious about their age and probably consider themselves older than they really are. Because they are retired from active service and confined in an institution, they consider themselves put on the shelf or of no use, and thus they are old not only from the chronological aspect but from the psychological aspect of aging.

Contrary to the hypothesis, one out of two cases in the present study has lived in the institution less than three years, although approximately the same proportion of cases have been retired from active service for a period of ten years. The discrepancy may be due to the fact that it is difficult for old people to gain admission to an institution. Usually one third as many are on the waiting list as are actually living in the institution. In many cases, furthermore, old persons are reluctant to ask for admission to an institution, preferring to remain in their own homes as long as they can take care of themselves. When once they have been confined in an institution, sooner or later they tend to consider themselves too old to participate in any activity.

CONTACT WITH FRIENDS

Hypothesis. Institutionalization of old people decreases the number of acquaintances and close friends and lessens the opportunity of seeing friends and of having friends among children and young people.

Differences in contact with friends are indicated in the following items:

| Item | Present Study Per Cent | Cavan Study Per Cent | C.R. |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|------|
| Number of close friends 5-15 | 18.3 | 35.5 | 7.5 |
| Number of acquaintances over 50 .. | 69.8 | 77.0 | 3.3 |
| Frequency of contact with friends | | | |
| Seldom | 33.3 | 21.7 | 5.0 |
| Often | 48.5 | 58.6 | 3.7 |

They indicate that Dr. Cavan's subjects had more acquaintances and a richer life than those in the present study. The data also indicate that Cavan's group had a higher proportion of close friends than those in the present study. The general tendency indicates that institutionalized old people see their friends less often now than ten years ago because they are now confined in the institution. They probably have physical or social difficulties which tend to prevent them from visiting friends, have no money to pay carfare, or are embarrassed because of being institutionalized. In like manner, their former friends may be unable to or no longer care to visit them, and gradually all contact between them is lost. The findings confirm the hypothesis that institutionalization of old people not only decreases the number of friends and acquaintances but lessens the opportunity of their seeing friends or making new contacts among children or young people.

LEISURE AND RECREATION

Hypothesis. Institutionalized old people have more leisure-time activities, have more hobbies, and spend more time in reading, in listening to the radio, and attending movies. Differences in leisure-time activities are indicated in the following items:

| Item | Present Study Per Cent | Cavan Study Per Cent | C.R. |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|------|
| Number of leisure-time activities | | | |
| One to five | 56.6 | 38.7 | 5.1 |
| Six or more | 42.0 | 61.3 | 5.1 |
| Number of hobbies | | | |
| None | 30.0 | 37.7 | 2.9 |
| Two or more | 43.9 | 37.3 | 2.1 |
| Time spent in listening to radio | | | |
| Never | 31.8 | 11.7 | 12.5 |
| Few minutes | 36.3 | 18.9 | 6.7 |
| An hour or more | 31.9 | 69.4 | 11.8 |

Although the data show that the control group had more leisure-time activities, they may be interpreted as meaning that the old people in the institution might possess more leisure time but participate in fewer activities because their activities are probably limited for the most part to those within the institution, and they have little, if any, opportunity to participate in outside activities. On the other hand, the old people living in the institution surpass the control group in number of hobbies. The present study also shows that eight out of ten of the subjects spend one hour or more each day in reading. It should be kept in mind that the effect of institutionalization may be a strong factor in influencing the reading habits because old people, retired from active service and confined in the institution, have more free time and, if well educated, will naturally be interested in reading. Further, Cavan's study shows a higher proportion of subjects who listened to the radio regularly an hour or more each day; the present study shows a higher proportion who never listen, or listen only a few minutes each day. As mentioned in respect to reading, old people confined in the institution have more free time and might naturally be expected to spend more time in listening to the radio; but, since some homes do not provide a radio for each person, some residents might prefer to stay in their own room rather than go to the assembly hall or lounge where they could listen to radio programs. The findings further indicate that old people in institutions attend movies very seldom.

Thus, the findings tend to disprove the hypothesis that institutionalized old people have more leisure-time activities and spend more time in listening to the radio, but confirm the hypothesis in respect to their having a greater number of hobbies and in spending more time in reading.

PARTICIPATION IN CLUBS AND ORGANIZATIONS

Hypothesis. Persons confined in institutions attend fewer clubs or organized group meetings, participate in fewer club activities, and tend to become less active in club work than formerly. Differences in participation in clubs and organizations are indicated in the following items:

| Item | Present Study Per Cent | Cavan Study Per Cent | C.R. |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|------|
| Participation in club meetings | | | |
| One meeting | 27.4 | 15.5 | 3.0 |
| Three or more..... | 12.0 | 22.0 | 3.0 |

The findings show that only about one half of the subjects confined in institutions attend club meetings and that their active participation in

club activities has declined perceptibly during the past ten years; however, contrary to the hypothesis, a much greater proportion continue to participate in at least one group organization than do those in the control group.

RELATION OF AGE PERIOD TO EMPLOYMENT AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

Hypothesis. Institutionalized old people have passed beyond the age period of their highest-paid job, and, although they estimate their efficiency on the job as equal to that of their sibling, their choice of occupation differed somewhat from that of the present generation. Differences in employment and occupational mobility are indicated in the following items:

| Item | Present Study Per Cent | Cavan Study Per Cent | C.R. |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|------|
| Occupational distribution | | | |
| No paid occupation | 47.8 | 27.8 | 8.3 |
| School teacher | 9.9 | 4.9 | 4.0 |
| Minister and church worker | 6.4 | 1.7 | 4.8 |
| Professional | 9.1 | 12.4 | 2.3 |
| Business | 5.2 | 9.3 | 2.3 |
| Skilled and semiskilled worker ... | 7.0 | 19.5 | 8.6 |
| Unskilled worker | .2 | 4.5 | 6.7 |
| Farmer | 2.0 | 7.0 | 6.0 |
| Husband's occupation | | | |
| Minister and church worker | 14.3 | 4.8 | 5.0 |
| Skilled and semiskilled worker ... | 15.5 | 5.3 | 2.3 |
| Still earn money by working | | | |
| No..... | 70.0 | 81.6 | 3.7 |
| Part time | 21.7 | 8.3 | 5.1 |
| Reason for retiring | | | |
| Prefer to work only part time | 4.7 | 10.2 | 3.6 |

The findings confirm the hypothesis that there is a close relationship between the age period of the individual and his remuneration for service, institutionalized old people having passed the age period in which they held their best-paying job. Also there is evidence that within the past generation there has been a significant trend toward urbanization of workers.

ECONOMIC STATUS AND FEELING OF SECURITY

Hypothesis. Persons confined in the institution have a comparatively low economic status and have to make sacrifices because of lowered income, but whatever source of income they may have plus the support from the institution gives them a feeling of comfort and security. Differences in economic status and feeling of security are indicated in the following items:

| Item | Present Study Per Cent | Cavan Study Per Cent | C.R. |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|------|
| Economic status | | | |
| Comfortable | 69.2 | 58.6 | 3.9 |
| Well-to-do or wealthy | 3.5 | 12.9 | 6.7 |
| Chief means of support | | | |
| Several sources | 3.1 | 38.5 | 10.8 |
| Present earnings or savings | 15.1 | 39.5 | 12.2 |
| Living on charity | 18.0 | 12.6 | 3.0 |
| By institution | 51.3 | 4.6 | 12.1 |
| Sense of security | | | |
| Yes | 88.3 | 80.1 | 4.3 |
| No | 11.7 | 19.9 | 4.3 |

The findings, for the most part, confirm the hypothesis that the economic status of old people living in the institution is comparatively low. They have had to make sacrifices because of lowered income and may feel that their economic status is below that of their family in early childhood, but the fact that they are living in the institution tends to give them a feeling of permanent security.

PARTICIPATION IN RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

Hypothesis. The greater proportion of institutionalized old people are affiliated with religious or church groups, attend religious services more frequently, and listen to church service over radio more often than do old people living outside the institution. Differences in participation in religious activities are indicated in the following items.

The present study was limited to cases with Protestant church affiliation, and half of the present sample came from Methodist church homes. Therefore, the difference in the two studies as to church affiliation of subjects is due to the selection of sample.

| Item | Present Study Per Cent | Cavan Study Per Cent | C.R. |
|---|---------------------------|-------------------------|------|
| Religious affiliation | | | |
| None | 3.0 | 11.1 | 6.2 |
| Methodist | 48.5 | 19.7 | 13.1 |
| Presbyterian | 13.7 | 9.2 | 3.0 |
| Lutheran | 9.1 | 6.4 | 2.1 |
| Other Protestant | 15.3 | 29.7 | 6.9 |
| Frequency of attending church service | | | |
| Never | 7.2 | 16.0 | 5.2 |
| Once a month | 2.6 | 19.2 | 11.1 |
| Three times a month | 6.5 | 14.2 | 5.2 |
| Once a week or oftener | 83.6 | 50.0 | 11.2 |
| Listening to church service over radio | | | |
| Never | 4.3 | 16.1 | 10.5 |
| Once in a while | 28.9 | 54.9 | 9.0 |
| Regularly | 66.6 | 29.0 | 16.3 |

It is not surprising to find that institutionalized old people attend religious services more frequently than in early life. Confined in the institution, as they are, they have few diversions of interest.

With the objective limitation of the sample indicated at the outset of this article the findings can be generalized as follows:

In conclusion, therefore, institutionalized old people are characterized by more females, more old maids, and more widows, and are better educated than the average and have the following advantages: They have good health care, many hobbies, spend much time in reading, are deeply religious, and feel a sense of economic security.

They also have disadvantages: unfavorable family relationships, less contact with friends or young people, less opportunity to participate in group activities, and a resigned conviction that they are through with their careers.

THE STATUS BACKGROUND OF THE VETERAN COLLEGE STUDENT

DONALD D. STEWART

University of Oklahoma

RICHARD P. CHAMBERS

University of Washington

The acquisition of professional and technical training has been generally conceded to be one method of individual social mobility.¹ Parents of low-income groups have made substantial personal sacrifices for the education of their children on the assumption that such education would enable the children "to better themselves."² Although there is some recognition of the other benefits to be derived from college or university training, the emphasis has been on such training as a method of vertical social mobility.³ Moreover, there is evidence to indicate that recent social trends⁴—including the decline in the number of successful small businesses with the concomitant centralization of economic control in large corporate enterprises and the increasing occupational specialization in industry⁵—have placed renewed emphasis on this method of social mobility.

The opportunities for education—at all levels, but particularly at the college level—are not evenly distributed throughout the various income groups.⁶ One volume of the *Report of the President's Commis-*

¹ Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Social Mobility* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1927), pp. 164-215; C. C. North, *Social Differentiation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1926), pp. 332-36; Gunnar Myrdal et al., *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944), pp. 882-86.

² Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929), pp. 186-87; W. Lloyd Warner, Robert J. Havighurst, and Marion B. Loeb, *Who Shall Be Educated?* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944), pp. 185-86.

³ The answer to the question of whether or not the colleges are currently "overeducating," i.e., educating too many for the presently available professional and technical occupational opportunities, lies outside the scope of this study, although this is recognized as a possibility. However, the *Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education* does suggest continuing and expanding opportunities in at least some of the professions. *Higher Education for American Democracy, Volume I, Establishing the Goals, A Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1947), pp. 75-81.

⁴ W. Lloyd Warner and J. O. Low, *The Social System of the Modern Factory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), pp. 183-85.

⁵ Wilbert T. Moore, *Industrial Relations and the Social Order* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946), p. 155.

⁶ Helen B. Goetsch, *Parental Income and College Opportunities, Teacher College Contributions to Education, Number 795* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1940). See also Lynds, *op. cit.*, p. 185, and Warner, Havighurst, Loeb, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-55.

sion on Higher Education is devoted to an analysis of some of the implications of the inequalities in individual opportunity for education and to recommendations for a program for equalizing these opportunities.⁷ The Commission report "concludes that the decision as to who shall go to college is at present influenced far too much by economic considerations including the inadequacies of family income and the costs for students forced to live away from home while in college."⁸ Undoubtedly, there are some who, because of markedly inferior ability, lack of interest, poor health, or other reasons, could not or would not benefit from college education. There is little evidence to suggest that these disabilities are as unevenly distributed as, or are distributed in the manner of, the opportunities for college attendance.

A number of methods have been used in attempts to equalize the opportunities for college attendance.⁹ The method to be considered in this instance is the provision of educational benefits for veterans of wartime service in the armed forces through Public Law 16, the Rehabilitation Act, and Public Law 346, the GI Bill. These laws provide for allowances for tuition and similar expenses and for "subsistence," i.e., living expenses, for veterans of wartime service in the armed forces.¹⁰ The Veterans Administration reported that on June 30, 1947, there were 6,597,000 veterans who had applied for benefits under one or the other of the laws and that 1,209,000 had entered upon a program of training in an institution of higher education.¹¹

At this point it should be made explicit that "need" is not a criterion for the awarding of assistance under either law. These benefits are awarded, generally, on the basis of the length of service, almost without reference to the present financial position of the veteran.¹² As the Ameri-

⁷ *Higher Education for American Democracy, Volume II, Equalizing and Expanding Individual Opportunity, A Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1947.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁰ At the time of this investigation the monthly subsistence allowance was 65 dollars for unmarried students and 90 dollars for married students.

¹¹ Historically, the most important American attempt to equalize educational opportunity was the educational aid program of the National Youth Administration which provided assistance for youth attending high school or college during the economic depression of the nineteen-thirties. For a fuller discussion of this and similar programs see *Higher Education for American Democracy, Volume II, Equalizing and Expanding Individual Opportunity, A Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1947), especially pp. 45-57.

¹² The amount of the earnings of the veteran students from part-time employment was restricted if they wished to remain eligible for the subsistence allowance.

can armed forces of World War II were largely recruited through a system of universal conscription, it seems plausible to assume that the population of veteran college students would include at least some who would not have been financially able to attend college without this assistance.¹³ The purpose of this investigation is to test, tentatively, the validity of this assumption.

Three preliminary points should be noted. First, the veteran college students were not a random sample from all veterans of service in the armed forces. The available evidence suggests that this group included a disproportionately large share of the younger veterans, and probably of the more intelligent, as intelligence was measured by the various classification tests used by the armed forces.¹⁴ Moreover, as regular college attendance requires graduation from high school, and the attainment of even this educational level has been shown to be associated with family income and social status,¹⁵ it seems likely that there was some selection on these latter criteria.

Second, it should be pointed out that the veteran group was not entirely different in family background and social status from the non-veteran group. Forty-three of the 99 veteran students who cooperated on this study had attended college prior to the period of their military service, and for this group their military service was an interruption of a formulated program for which they presumably had means. Sixty-one of the 99 veteran students, including these 43, reported that they could have and would have attended college without the assistance provided by the GI Bill.

Third, a cross-sectional study such as this does not offer adequate opportunity for isolation of what may be considered to be the secular trend in college enrollment. This enrollment has increased from 237,592 in 1900 to an estimated 2,354,000 in 1947 and from 4 to 15.5 per cent of the youth 18 to 21 years of age.¹⁶ It seems probable that a

¹³ This study is not an attempt to appraise the adequacy or the desirability of this method of assisting the veteran in adjustment to civilian status. It might be noted that there is, apparently, a general trend toward the extension of greater postservice benefits to the veterans of wartime service in the armed forces. See Dixon Wechter, *When Johnny Comes Marching Home*, Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1944, and Willard Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*, New York: The Dryden Press, 1944.

¹⁴ Wilbur B. Brookover, "The Adjustment of Veterans to Civilian Life," *American Sociological Review*, October 1945, pp. 579-86; Erwin O. Smigel, "Supplementary Notes on Veterans Prospectives," *American Sociological Review*, April 1946, pp. 224-26.

¹⁵ Warner et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 51-55; Lynds, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

¹⁶ *Higher Education for American Democracy, Volume VI, Resource Data, A Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1947), p. 19.

part of this increase has come from the college attendance of the children of the lower income groups, i.e., the tenfold increase in college enrollment could hardly be ascribed, entirely, to a similar increase in the size or proportion of the middle and upper income groups or to decreases in the cost of college attendance. It is possible (and the available evidence can neither prove nor disprove this theory) that the veteran students from low-income families are not different, except for their period of military service, from the students of low-income families who have attended college and will attend college in other periods. However, 38 of the veteran students who cooperated in this investigation reported that they would not have been able to attend college without the assistance provided by the GI Bill.¹⁷

The method of study. One hundred and ninety-eight male college students at the University of Oklahoma—99 veterans and 99 non-veterans—participated in this study, which was conducted during the fall semester of the school year of 1947-48. The University of Oklahoma is a tax-subsidized, low-tuition state university, and 90 per cent of the students come from Oklahoma and the immediately adjacent states.¹⁸ At the time of the investigation Negroes were not enrolled.

The 99 veteran and 99 nonveteran students were matched for class and college in the university.¹⁹ This sample represents 2.07 per cent of the 9,597 male students enrolled.²⁰ The sample as stratified is presented as Table 1. The names of the individual students were selected from the records of the offices of the deans of the various colleges in a fashion that assured a random choice within each stratum. The bulk of the data was gathered through the utilization of a pretested schedule, supplemented by material taken from records made available by various university and Veterans Administration officials.

¹⁷ The estimation of the proportion of all veteran students who could not have attended college without this assistance lies outside the scope of this study.

¹⁸ Data supplied by the Office of Admission and Records, University of Oklahoma.

¹⁹ The procedure of the study is a variation of the "ex post facto" design described by Chapin. See F. Stuart Chapin, *Experimental Designs in Sociological Research* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947), pp. 95-140. The purpose of this procedure, as conceived by the authors of this paper was to assure, so far as possible, the selection of equal-sized groups of veteran and nonveteran students, representative of all colleges and classes in the University, proportionate to the size of these colleges and classes.

²⁰ The limiting factor in the selection of matched factors of veteran and nonveteran students was the small number and academic class in university distribution of the nonveteran group. They constituted only 25.7 per cent of the male enrollment, and the majority were freshmen.

TABLE 1

THE SAMPLE OF THE STUDY

| Class in University | COLLEGE | | | | | Total |
|------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|-----|-------------|----------|-------|
| | A&S, FA, Educ.* | Business Adminis- tration | Law | Engineering | Pharmacy | |
| Freshman..... | 24 | 10 | | 24 | 2 | 60 |
| Sophomore..... | 20 | 12 | | 22 | 4 | 58 |
| Junior..... | 12 | 6 | 4** | 12 | 2 | 36 |
| Senior..... | 8 | 6 | 4 | 10 | 2 | 30 |
| Graduate..... | 8 | 2 | 2 | 2 | | 14 |
| Total..... | 72 | 36 | 10 | 70 | 10 | 198 |

*The Colleges of Fine Arts and Education were included with the College of Arts and Sciences because of the small male enrollment in these colleges.

**First-year students in the College of Law are juniors; there are no freshmen or sophomores in this college.

Findings. The median age of the veteran students was 23.1 years; of the nonveterans it was 20.1 years. The median length of the period of military service for the veteran group was 2.5 years. Of the veterans 39.4 per cent were married as compared with 9 per cent of the nonveterans. The median grade-point average of the 99 veteran students for the autumn semester of 1947-48 was 1.53; for the nonveterans it was 1.47.²¹ The analysis of the grade records of another group of veteran and nonveteran students also failed to reveal significant differences between the two groups.²²

The students were asked to estimate the average annual income of their parents (customarily the father's income, but the income of both parents if both were employed, and the mother's income if the father was deceased) for the years 1943 through 1947. The replies are presented as Table 2. Of the veteran students 18 and of the nonveterans 14 did not report a family income.²³

²¹ The grade-point score of each student was taken from university records. With this system of grading a grade of A equals 3, B equals 2, C equals 1, and D equals 0. Although grades for one semester may be considered to be an inadequate basis for judgment of academic performance, it should be noted that 60 of the 198 students were freshmen with no other record of college grades.

²² The fall semester, 1947-48, grades of another sample of 500 male students were taken from the records. Of these 366 were veterans and 134 nonveterans. The median grade-point scores of these groups were identical, i.e., 1.33, or between B and C.

²³ Nine of this group reported their fathers as deceased and did not report other family income. The others were not pressed for answers to this question. Most of them did describe the family income with such phrases as "not large, but comfortable," "adequate," etc. Nine reported that they actually did not know the size of their fathers' income.

The mean dollar annual income for the veteran group was 4,481; for the nonveterans it was 7,871.²⁴ If the students from the "high-income" families are eliminated, i.e., those who reported the annual

TABLE 2
ANNUAL INCOMES OF STUDENTS' FAMILIES
(IN DOLLARS)

| Annual Income | Veterans | Nonveterans |
|----------------------|----------|-------------|
| Less than 2,000..... | 18 | 6 |
| 2,000- 3,999..... | 34 | 23 |
| 4,000- 5,999..... | 14 | 22 |
| 6,000- 7,999..... | 4 | 9 |
| 8,000- 9,999..... | 5 | 9 |
| 10,000-19,999..... | 5 | 9 |
| 20,000-29,999..... | 1 | 4 |
| 30,000-39,999..... | 0 | 3 |
| Total..... | 81 | 85 |

dollar income of their families to be more than 10,000, the mean for the veteran group is 3,158 and for the nonveteran group it is 4,768. Both of these are significant differences.²⁵ The median reported income for the veteran group was \$3,300 and for the nonveteran group \$5,200.

At this point it might be noted that the mean and median incomes for both veteran and nonveteran students' families were substantially higher than estimates of these measures for all American families. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that only 12 per cent of the students reported family incomes of less than \$2,000 annually as compared with

²⁴ The schedules were carefully analyzed for internal consistency with reference to reported family income. For example, reported individual salaries of employed parents were compared with individual occupation. The reported salaries were within the range for these occupations in this area. Although there were some obvious inaccuracies, the majority of the estimates of income appeared to be substantially correct.

²⁵ Both of these differences are significant at the .01 level. The authors are aware of the general limitations of the use of measures which proceed from probability theory in the analysis of samples selected in the manner of this study, and they are presented here as convenient reference points for the consideration of the data. For a further discussion of this point see Thomas McCormick, "Note on the Validity of Mathematical Probability in Sociological Research," *American Sociological Review*, October 1945, pp. 626-31. See also Chapin, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-87.

an estimated 35 per cent, nationally, in this income group.²⁶ Although these differences may be due to errors in reporting or to bias in sampling procedure, it does seem likely that the proportion of college students from the lowest income groups is small.

The occupations of the fathers of the students, as reported on the schedules or during the interviews, are listed as Table 3.²⁷ The coefficient of mean square contingency for this distribution is .278, interpreted as indicating a relationship between "high-occupation and non-veteran status" and "low-occupation and veteran status."

TABLE 3
OCCUPATIONS OF STUDENTS' FATHERS

| Occupations | Veterans | Nonveterans | Total |
|--------------------------------|----------|-------------|-------|
| Owners and managers..... | 18 | 33 | 51 |
| Professionals..... | 15 | 23 | 38 |
| Farmers..... | 13 | 8 | 21 |
| Sales and clerical..... | 17 | 13 | 30 |
| Skilled..... | 11 | 6 | 17 |
| Semiskilled and unskilled..... | 10 | 2 | 12 |
| Total..... | 84 | 85 | 169 |

The level of educational accomplishment of the students' fathers is presented as Table 4.²⁸ It should be noted that the various items refer to educational level attended irrespective of graduation. The coefficient of mean square contingency for this distribution is .286, interpreted as indicating a relationship between "high-education and nonveteran status" and "low-education and veteran status."

²⁶ *Higher Education for American Democracy, Volume II, Equalizing and Expanding Individual Opportunity, A Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1947), pp. 11-13. The Report presents a tabulation of "family unit" incomes for 1945 and 1946 as prepared by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

²⁷ Of the veteran students 15 did not report the occupation of their fathers. Of these, 10 reported the father as deceased, 1 as retired, 1 as hospitalized, and 3 did not report. Of the nonveteran group, 14 did not report their fathers' occupation. Six of these reported the father as deceased, 2 were reported as retired, 1 as hospitalized, and 5 did not report.

²⁸ Four veteran and 3 nonveteran students did not report the amount of education of their fathers.

TABLE 4
EDUCATION OF STUDENTS' FATHERS

| Educational Level Attended | Veterans | Nonveterans | Total |
|----------------------------|----------|-------------|-------|
| Postcollege..... | 6 | 7 | 13 |
| College..... | 13 | 32 | 45 |
| High school..... | 36 | 39 | 75 |
| Grade school..... | 40 | 18 | 58 |
| Total..... | 95 | 96 | 191 |

The level of the reported educational accomplishment of the students' mothers is presented as Table 5.²⁹ The coefficient of mean square contingency for this distribution is .290, interpreted as indicating a relationship between "high-education and nonveteran status" and "low-education and veteran status." On the basis of this evidence it would appear that both parents of the nonveteran students had somewhat more formal education than those of the veteran students.

TABLE 5
EDUCATION OF STUDENTS' MOTHERS

| Educational Level Attended | Veterans | Nonveterans | Total |
|----------------------------|----------|-------------|-------|
| Postcollege..... | 6 | 2 | 8 |
| College..... | 18 | 30 | 48 |
| High school..... | 41 | 56 | 97 |
| Grade school..... | 30 | 9 | 39 |
| Total..... | 95 | 97 | 192 |

Two further differences in the family backgrounds of these groups were noted. The first was the difference in the size of the families of the veteran and nonveteran students. The 99 veterans had 232 siblings, a mean number of 2.34, while the 99 nonveterans had 167 siblings, a mean number of 1.69.³⁰ As it has been reported that there is an inverse relationship between the amount of family income and the size of family, the fact that the veteran students were members of larger families may

²⁹ Four veterans and 2 nonveterans did not report on the education of their mothers.

³⁰ If the 25 veteran and the 12 nonveteran students who were from rural areas are eliminated from the sample, the mean number of siblings for each group is 2.29 and 1.58. For the veterans from rural areas the mean number of siblings was 2.9 and for nonveterans it was 2.5.

be taken as further evidence that more of them did come from lower income families.³¹

A second difference between the two groups was in the proportion of mothers employed outside the home. Of the 85 living mothers of veteran students 22 and of the 94 living mothers of nonveterans 11 were employed in occupations other than housewife, a significant difference in proportions.³² Five of the mothers of veterans and two of the mothers of nonveterans were employed as professionals, but the others worked in clerical, sales, or similar capacities. Several investigators have reported that the employment of mothers outside the home, particularly in nonprofessional occupations, is more prevalent among the lower income groups.³³

One set of data gathered during the course of the investigation, although difficult to interpret, is worthy of note. As a preliminary it might be mentioned that there is apparently a direct relationship between social status and number of formal group memberships.³⁴ Among the veteran students the mean number of memberships in formal organizations was 1.74, whereas for the nonveterans it was 2.36. If the veterans organizations such as the American Legion are excluded from consideration, the mean number of memberships of the veterans is 1.01. However, although the veterans had a smaller number of organizational affiliations than the nonveterans, this difference must be interpreted with caution, for it may be due to other factors than family status or background, e.g., to the age or marital status of the student.

A battery of six questions designed by Centers to test "conservative-radical" orientation was included in the schedule.³⁵ On only one question was there a significant difference between the two groups.³⁶

Summary and conclusions. With due recognition of the hazards of generalization from a study as limited in scope as this, some tentative conclusions may be offered.

³¹ The fact of the inverse relationship between family income and birth rate has been noted in a number of studies. A recent summary of these studies is included in T. Lynn Smith, *Population Analysis* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1948), pp. 218-21.

³² This difference is significant at the .05 level.

³³ See Lynds, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30; Warner and Low, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 91-92; Elliott and Merrill, *op. cit.*, pp. 387-89.

³⁴ George A. Lundberg, Mirra Komarovsky, and Mary Alice McInerney, *Leisure: A Suburban Study* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), pp. 126-70; Warner and Lunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 301-55.

³⁵ Richard Centers, *The Psychology of Social Classes: A Study of Class Consciousness* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), pp. 38-45.

³⁶ The question was "In strikes and disputes between working people and employers do you usually side with the workers or the employers?" Of the veterans 43.4 per cent said they usually sided with the employers as compared with 61.7 per cent of the nonveterans.

1. There was no significant difference between veteran and non-veteran students in academic performance, as academic performance is measured by college grades. The pertinence of this comparison is in the fact that the expansion of the opportunity for college attendance (and the expansion of attendance) need not result in a deterioration in standards of performance.

2. Although there was a considerable overlap, the veteran students did come from a lower income group than the nonveterans, i.e., the mean family income of the veterans was less than that of the nonveterans.

3. Three coefficients of mean square contingency were calculated, i.e., for fathers' occupation, for fathers' education, and for mothers' education. All coefficients were small, but all were "in the same direction," i.e., all seemed to indicate that the veteran students were from families of lower occupational status and a lower level of educational accomplishment.

4. Two of the indirect indices of family status—size of family and proportion of employed mothers—indicated a lower status background for the veterans. Two other indices of social status—number of formal organizational affiliations and "radical-conservative" attitudes—offered only inconclusive evidence of the comparative social status of the two groups.

ATTITUDES OF COLLEGE STUDENTS IN THE SOUTHWEST TOWARD ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES*

EUGENE S. RICHARDS
Texas State University

It is becoming more evident that the pattern of ethnic relations that exists in any geographic area is largely dependent on the attitudes of the various ethnic groups in the area toward each other. If the attitudes prevailing in an area are positive, a pattern of ethnic relations will evolve that is constructive in nature. If they are negative, a pattern of ethnic relations may develop that will be contrary to the best interests of all groups concerned. The acceptance of this view will cause one to see the need for many studies among all segments of the population in a given area, in order to determine the nature of the predominant attitudes toward the ethnic groups that reside therein. This report should contribute to this need by presenting the attitudes of a number of students enrolled in white colleges and universities in the Southwest toward the major ethnic groups in the United States.

In this study the following definition of an attitude is accepted: An attitude "is a process of individual consciousness which determines real or possible activity of the individual in the social world."¹ Thus, the purpose of this study is to report on the real or possible reactions of a number of college students to their relations with the various ethnic groups in the United States; or, more specifically, the purpose of this study is (1) to determine some of the attitudes toward ethnic groups in the United States that predominate among white college students in the Southwest, (2) to point out the extent to which these attitudes are positive or negative, and (3) to ascertain the relative importance of several possible sources of ethnic attitudes among college students.

Several techniques have been suggested as means by which the attitudes of persons might be studied.² Among these is the formulation of a questionnaire that includes a list of statements that might be accepted or rejected by respondents. This is the technique that is used in this

*The completion of this study has been made possible by a Southern Grant-in-Aid award from the Social Science Research Council.

¹ W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1927), p. 22.

² See William Albion, *Public Opinion* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1939), pp. 181-213, for a discussion of the technique used in studying attitudes and opinions.

study. It is recognized that this technique has many limitations, but, the present conditions of financing social research being what they are, this is the most logical procedure to follow if a significant sample is to be explored.

Many steps were involved in the formulation of the questionnaire that was used in this study: (1) Two hundred and nine (209) college students were requested to write short essays expressing their reactions to the ethnic groups included in the study in order to insure a vocabulary in keeping with the understanding of college students. (2) A list of the opinions expressed and the descriptive traits ascribed in these essays to the various ethnic groups was formulated. (3) The opinions and descriptive traits mentioned most frequently were selected for a trial questionnaire. (4) The trial questionnaire was sent to a number of professors of sociology and psychology and to a number of college students in the United States with the request that they check the statements as positive, neutral, or negative. Responses were received from 204 college students and 183 college professors. (5) A questionnaire of forty statements based on these responses was formulated. Twenty of these statements were checked by most of the respondents as positive and twenty as negative.

Thus, a multiple-choice questionnaire was used in this study. The questionnaire referred to nine of the major ethnic groups that reside in the United States and included forty statements, twenty of which had been rated as positive and twenty as negative statements by 387 judges. Students completing the questionnaire were instructed to check the statements they thought characteristic of each of the ethnic groups included. In other words, the students could check one or forty of the statements for each ethnic group, depending on whether they thought the group was characterized by one or forty of the statements included in the questionnaire.

This paper is a report of the findings compiled from questionnaires completed by 1,672 white college students (the findings from Negro college students will be published in a separate paper). These students were enrolled in colleges and universities located in the states of Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas. Each of the statements included in the questionnaire was checked by some of the students for each of the ethnic groups included. The average number of statements checked by the students ranged from 9.8 statements for Filipinos to 15 statements for native-born whites.

Attitudes of students toward ethnic group. Table 1 shows the attitudes reflected by college students in the Southwest toward nine ethnic groups in the United States. This table includes the ten statements that were selected by the largest number of students for each of the ethnic groups, together with the percentage of students that selected each statement. A study of this table will show that many of the common stereotypes of minority ethnic groups are accepted by many of the college students responding. Among these stereotypes are (1) Indians are brave, artistic, and peaceful and friendly; (2) Japanese are spreaders of diseases, but industrious and artistic; (3) Mexicans possess a low moral standard, will steal, and are dirty, filthy people; (4) Jews will cheat you out of money, but are industrious and thrifty; and (5) Negroes act inferior to other people, will steal, and possess a low moral standard.

Several other findings that are reflected in Table 1 should be noted. Native-born whites, foreign-born whites, and Indians are the groups accepted as good neighbors. The Japanese are mean and sly and are the only group that should be barred from the United States. Mexicans and Negroes are the groups that will steal, and they are lazy and shiftless. Negroes are the only group that is too superstitious. Native-born whites and Indians are the groups that are physically attractive.

Many other attitudes were reflected that are not included in Table 1. These attitudes are reflected in consideration of the statements checked least frequently for each of the ethnic groups included in the study. The premise is that the failure to check a statement for an ethnic group indicates that the respondent thinks that this statement is not characteristic of the group. If the checking of a statement by less than 100 of the respondents suggests that this statement does not apply to the various groups, the following conclusions are valid: (1) native-born whites are not ignorant people, are not inferior people, will not steal, and should not be segregated; (2) foreign-born whites should not be barred from the United States, and are not lazy and shiftless; (3) Negroes lack civic pride; (4) Mexicans are not clean and neat; (5) Chinese are not always starting fights; and (6) Indians should not be barred from the United States.

Positive and negative reactions of students. Data are presented in two tables to show the extent to which the students responding reflected positive or negative attitudes toward the ethnic group used in this study. Table 2 shows the total number of statements that was checked for each ethnic group by all respondents, and the extent to which these checks were distributed between negative and positive statements. It was

TABLE 1
STATEMENTS CHECKED MOST FREQUENTLY FOR THE ETHNIC
GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES BY WHITE COLLEGE
STUDENTS IN THE SOUTHWEST

| Statement | Per Cent | Statement | Per Cent |
|---|----------|--|----------|
| AMERICAN INDIANS | | | |
| 1. Are brave people | 65.0 | 1. Possess civic pride | 71.8 |
| 2. Are artistic | 64.5 | 2. Are good workers | 61.6 |
| 3. Are peaceful and friendly | 62.6 | 3. Are artistic | 61.0 |
| 4. Are loyal and trustworthy | 53.3 | 4. Are loyal and trustworthy | 58.7 |
| 5. Are ignorant people | 52.5 | 5. Will cooperate with others | 58.1 |
| 6. Possess a good character | 52.3 | 6. Are peaceful and friendly | 56.6 |
| 7. Should be given more opportunities | 48.9 | 7. Are industrious | 56.6 |
| 8. Are physically attractive | 44.6 | 8. Have contributed much to civilization | 56.1 |
| 9. Are good neighbors | 42.5 | 9. Help to keep wages low | 52.1 |
| 10. Are honest and truthful | 42.2 | 10. Possess a good character | 50.6 |
| JAPANESE | | | |
| 1. Are spreaders of disease | 70.7 | 1. Possess a low moral standard | 58.9 |
| 2. Are industrious | 57.3 | 2. Will steal | 58.0 |
| 3. Are artistic | 53.2 | 3. Are dirty and filthy people | 57.1 |
| 4. Help to keep wages low | 49.6 | 4. Help to keep wages low | 56.4 |
| 5. Are mean and sly | 45.7 | 5. Are spreaders of disease | 55.8 |
| 6. Are good workers | 44.4 | 6. Are lazy and shiftless | 54.1 |
| 7. Should be barred from the U.S. | 43.1 | 7. Are artistic | 52.2 |
| 8. Possess a low moral standard | 40.8 | 8. Are ignorant people | 47.4 |
| 9. Are interested in educational advancement .. | 40.8 | 9. Act inferior to other groups | 44.1 |
| 10. Possess constructive imagination | 38.2 | 10. Should be given more opportunities | 39.8 |
| MEXICANS | | | |
| 1. Possess a low moral standard | 58.9 | 1. Possess a low moral standard | 58.9 |
| 2. Will steal | 58.0 | 2. Will steal | 58.0 |
| 3. Are dirty and filthy people | 57.1 | 3. Are dirty and filthy people | 57.1 |
| 4. Help to keep wages low | 56.4 | 4. Help to keep wages low | 56.4 |
| 5. Are spreaders of disease | 55.8 | 5. Are spreaders of disease | 55.8 |
| 6. Are lazy and shiftless | 54.1 | 6. Are lazy and shiftless | 54.1 |
| 7. Are artistic | 52.2 | 7. Are artistic | 52.2 |
| 8. Are ignorant people | 47.4 | 8. Are ignorant people | 47.4 |
| 9. Act inferior to other groups | 44.1 | 9. Act inferior to other groups | 44.1 |
| 10. Should be given more opportunities | 39.8 | 10. Should be given more opportunities | 39.8 |

| Statement | Per Cent | Statement | Per Cent |
|--|----------|--|----------|
| FILIPINOS | | | |
| 1. Are peaceful and friendly | 47.7 | 1. Will cheat people out of money | 72.8 |
| 2. Are loyal and trustworthy | 47.6 | 2. Are industrious | 62.2 |
| 3. Will cooperate with others | 45.3 | 3. Are interested in educational advancement | 56.8 |
| 4. Should be given more opportunities | 42.9 | 4. Are thrifty | 55.4 |
| 5. Are brave people | 41.3 | 5. Are clean and neat | 54.1 |
| 6. Are good workers | 41.3 | 6. Are builders of civilization | 52.2 |
| 7. Possess a good character | 40.3 | 7. Should be segregated | 46.5 |
| 8. Are interested in educational advancement | 39.5 | 8. Are good workers | 45.3 |
| 9. Possess civic pride | 37.4 | 9. Possess constructive imagination | 44.8 |
| 10. Are industrious | 35.7 | 10. Have contributed much to civilization | 38.9 |
| NEGROES | | | |
| 1. Act inferior to other people | 63.2 | 1. Are interested in educational advancement | 73.0 |
| 2. Should be given more opportunities | 61.8 | 2. Have contributed much to civilization | 68.5 |
| 3. Will steal | 58.0 | 3. Are industrious | 66.5 |
| 4. Possess a low moral standard | 55.0 | 4. Are good workers | 66.1 |
| 5. Are spreaders of disease | 54.1 | 5. Possess a good character | 61.2 |
| 6. Are lazy and shiftless | 53.8 | 6. Will cooperate with others | 59.9 |
| 7. Are ignorant people | 51.4 | 7. Are builders of civilization | 57.3 |
| 8. Are too superstitious | 49.2 | 8. Are good neighbors | 56.8 |
| 9. Help to keep wages low | 48.3 | 9. Are loyal and trustworthy | 56.0 |
| 10. Are good workers | 44.8 | 10. Possess constructive imagination | 55.0 |
| NATIVE-BORN WHITES | | | |
| 1. Are loyal and trustworthy | 87.3 | 6. Are interested in educational advancement | 73.3 |
| 2. Have contributed much to civilization | 82.7 | 7. Are good neighbors | 72.8 |
| 3. Are industrious | 77.7 | 8. Possess a good character | 72.1 |
| 4. Are physically attractive | 77.7 | 9. Are builders of civilization | 71.6 |
| 5. Will cooperate with others | 76.4 | 10. Help to advance living standards | 70.2 |

possible for the respondents to check a total of 66,880 statements, of which 33,440 were positive and the same number negative. Out of this possible total the number of statements checked ranged from 16,311 for Filipinos to 25,074 for native-born whites. If consideration is directed to the positive statements checked, the table shows that 86.7 per cent of the statements checked for native-born whites were positive, while only 38.6 per cent of those checked for Mexicans were positive. For three of the ethnic groups—Mexicans, Negroes, and Japanese—the majority of the statements that were selected were negative. These findings indicate a strong negative reaction toward Negroes and Mexicans among the college students responding, even when the reaction is based on a large number of possible choices of statements. On the other hand, the fact that such a large proportion of the statements selected for native-born and foreign-born whites was positive seems to suggest the presence of ethnocentrism.

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE STATEMENTS CHECKED
BY WHITE COLLEGE STUDENTS FOR THE ETHNIC GROUPS
IN THE UNITED STATES

| Ethnic Group | Total | Positive | | Negative | |
|----------------------------|--------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| | Number | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent |
| 1. Native-born white | 25,074 | 21,721 | 86.7 | 3,353 | 13.3 |
| 2. Foreign-born white | 23,081 | 18,168 | 78.7 | 4,913 | 21.3 |
| 3. Chinese | 22,264 | 15,860 | 71.2 | 6,404 | 28.8 |
| 4. Indian | 20,678 | 13,565 | 65.6 | 7,113 | 34.4 |
| 5. Jew | 18,928 | 12,188 | 64.8 | 6,740 | 35.2 |
| 6. Filipino | 16,311 | 10,499 | 64.4 | 5,812 | 35.6 |
| 7. Japanese | 20,405 | 10,142 | 49.7 | 10,263 | 50.3 |
| 8. Negro | 21,706 | 8,585 | 39.6 | 13,121 | 60.4 |
| 9. Mexicans | 20,768 | 8,021 | 38.6 | 12,747 | 61.4 |

Table 3 shows the attitude scores of the various ethnic groups included in the study. These scores are based on the ten statements that were selected most for each ethnic group. In working out these scores the statement that was selected by the largest number of students for each group was assigned ten points (see Table 1), with the points decreasing to one point for the statement in tenth place. If the statement was a positive statement it was given a plus score, if negative a minus score, the highest possible positive score being 55 plus, the lowest possible negative score being 55 minus. According to the table the scores ranged

TABLE 3

ATTITUDE SCORES OF WHITE COLLEGE STUDENTS TOWARD ETHNIC
GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES*

| Ethnic Group | Attitude Score |
|-----------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Native-born white | 55 plus |
| 2. Foreign-born white | 55 plus |
| 3. Filipino | 55 plus |
| 4. Chinese | 51 plus |
| 5. American Indian | 43 plus |
| 6. Jew | 27 plus |
| 7. Japanese | 5 minus |
| 8. Negro | 35 minus |
| 9. Mexican | 45 minus |

*Attitude scores range from 55 minus (extreme negative) to 55 plus (extreme positive).

from 45 minus for the Mexicans to 55 plus for native-born whites, foreign-born whites, and Filipinos. Again, negative reactions are shown toward the Japanese, Negroes, and Mexicans.

Sources of information. Table 4 shows the relative importance of a list of possible sources of information concerning ethnic groups. A glance at the table will show the least scientific sources ranked in the highest positions, and the more scientific sources in the lowest positions. Although it is recognized that many people depend more on unscientific sources as a basis for the formation of attitudes, it is thought that scientific sources should be more important in the formation of attitudes among college students than is reflected in this study.

It should also be noted that sources involving personal contact rank high for native-born whites, foreign-born whites, Negroes, Jews, and Mexicans; while these same sources rank in low positions for Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos. As the latter ethnic groups do not reside in large numbers in the states included in the study, this observation should be expected. However, college students should not have to depend on newspapers, hearsay, and discussion with friends to gain information concerning these groups.

Concluding statements. The data presented in this paper seem sufficient to justify the following summary statements:

1. White college students in the Southwest have accepted many of the stereotypes concerning ethnic groups in the United States that are prevalent among the masses of the population. Although these students are in the process of developing scientific thinking and depending on

TABLE 4

SOURCES FROM WHICH COLLEGE STUDENTS ACQUIRED
INFORMATION CONCERNING ETHNIC GROUPS
IN THE UNITED STATES

| Source of Information | TOTAL | Indian | Chinese | Japanese | Mexican | Filipino | Jew | Negro | Foreign-born White | Native-born White |
|---|-------|--------|---------|----------|---------|----------|-----|-------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Discussion with friends ... | 1 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 4 |
| 2. Newspapers and magazines | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 7 |
| 3. Movies | 3 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 9 | 7 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. Family discussion | 4 | 6 | 9 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 9 | 1 |
| 5. Hearsay | 5 | 1 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 2 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 10 |
| 6. Personal acquaintance with group | 6 | 8 | 11 | 8 | 3 | 12 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 7. Classroom discussion | 7 | 9 | 5 | 5 | 8 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 6 |
| 8. Concrete experience with group | 8 | 10 | 12 | 12 | 5 | 11 | 6 | 3 | 6 | 3 |
| 9. Social science textbooks ... | 9 | 4 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 7 | 10 | 9 | 8 | 9 |
| 10. Public lectures | 10 | 11 | 3 | 7 | 11 | 8 | 2 | 10 | 12 | 12 |
| 11. Novels, poems, and short stories | 11 | 5 | 7 | 11 | 9 | 9 | 11 | 11 | 10 | 8 |
| 12. Other scientific textbooks | 12 | 12 | 10 | 10 | 12 | 10 | 12 | 12 | 11 | 11 |

scientific information on many problems, this scientific information is playing a very small part in the shaping of the attitudes that they reflect toward ethnic groups in the United States.

2. White college students in the Southwest are much more negative in their reactions toward Japanese, Negroes, and Mexicans than they are toward Indians, foreign-born whites, native-born whites, Jews, Chinese, and Filipinos.

3. There is a need for plans that would encourage college students to learn more about the major ethnic groups that are included in the total population of the United States. About one third of the questionnaires returned could not be used because the students completing them did not attempt to check statements for several of the ethnic groups included.

Many students checked statements for only native-born whites, foreign-born whites, and Negroes.

4. There is a need for social science teachers, especially in the fields of psychology and sociology, to give more attention to the development of the ethnic attitudes of their students. Although the students responding in this study have had high school and college instruction in the social sciences, they acknowledged that their attitudes are conditioned by sources other than scientific instruction.

5. Finally, it is believed that college students are capable of developing scientific and constructive attitudes toward the various ethnic groups in the United States if they receive constructive leadership and guidance. They do change their attitudes toward other natural and social phenomena under the proper guidance, and this tendency to change attitudes can, and should be, applied to ethnic relations if we are to attain the democratic ideal that is accepted as the goal of our social order.

NEGRO MASSES AND LEADERS AN ANALYSIS OF CURRENT TRENDS

HUGH H. SMYTHE

The changing social order in America holds great significance for the position of our largest minority, the Negro. This group, in the unique position of being a part of the general society yet far from being completely integrated, poses problems which must be solved mainly by its own members. Chief among these is that of the relation of its so-called leaders with the masses.

It is significant that the American Negro has never produced a leader with a truly race-wide following. A few individuals, such as Frederick Douglass, W. E. B. DuBois, and Booker T. Washington, have been acclaimed as Negro leaders, but by any truly objective measurement none of them really controlled the Negro group in its entirety nor could he lay claim to complete recognition by the black masses.¹ Their leadership, recognized at the top strata of Negrodom, made some attempt to reach downward to the masses, but its main strength was not derived from the underprivileged and ignorant millions at the bottom. Since their time the development of American society in general and the position of the Negro in particular have altered considerably. The cultural milieu in which the Negro now finds himself presents problems entirely different from those he faced upon his emergence from slavery and during the first seventy-five years of his legal freedom.²

The depression of the 1930's released among Negroes forces hitherto dormant and wholly unsuspected not only by whites but by Negroes themselves. The first World War had given Negroes for the first time in American history some idea of their real worth as citizens. This awakening, and the subsequent unprecedented participation in both military and civilian activity, made them more alert than ever to the implications of their legally free but still subservient status. The rumblings of this growing consciousness on the part of the masses were well

¹ Booker T. Washington probably came closer to being accepted as a real leader of the Negro population than any person before or since his time. See the remarks of his most vigorous opponent, W. E. B. DuBois, in his autobiography, *Dusk of Dawn* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1940), pp. 71-72, or Guy B. Johnson, "Negro Racial Movements and Leadership in the United States," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XLIII (July 1937), pp. 57-71.

² Gunnar Myrdal, "Social Trends in America and Strategic Approaches to the Negro Problem," and W. E. B. DuBois, "Race Relations in the United States: 1917-1947," both in *Phylon*, IX (1948), pp. 196-214 and 234-47 respectively; also, W. E. B. DuBois, "Negro Since 1900: A Progress Report," *The New York Times Magazine*, November 21, 1948, pp. 24 ff.

illustrated in the Garvey movement of the period immediately following the war.³ The decade after the war served as a sort of incubating period for the Negro group. They began to give greater voice to their complaints; and with the onset of the depression they furnished fertile soil for organization.

The unsettled period of the 1930's was a time of confusion, mistrust, and great uncertainty for the nation at large. It created a state of tension especially acute for the Negro. Inside the general economy the Negro was squeezed and all but crushed; the mounting seriousness of his socioeconomic position called for a restatement of the problem of Negro-white relations. The Negro masses were moving out of a state in which they had been enmeshed by generations of illiteracy and ignorance. The Scottsboro and Angelo Herndon cases, the Alabama mine disasters, and sharecropper revolts in Alabama and Arkansas during the thirties were all symptoms of the start of a movement by the black proletariat demonstrating general dissatisfaction with their lot and heralding the start of an intensive struggle for economic and social justice. It was this struggle, emanating from the bottom and pushing upward, which created completely new problems for its leadership.

This condition of unrest set the stage for the development of all types of leaders. Messiahs arose,⁴ old and established organizations and some new ones began to exert greater authority,⁵ and a few individuals

³ Marcus Garvey, a West Indian Negro who came to the United States during the First World War, was the first Negro to achieve a considerable following among the uneducated Negro masses. He organized the Universal Negro Improvement Association, which reached its peak in membership and influence in 1920-1921, and then began to decline. See E. Franklin Frazier, "The Garvey Movement," *Opportunity*, IV (November 1926), pp. 346-48; Claude McKay, *Harlem: Negro Metropolis*, New York: E. P. Dutton, 1940; John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1947), pp. 481-83; Amy Jacque Garvey, *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*, New York: Universal Publishing House, 1923.

⁴ For information concerning types of religious leaders consult John Hoshor, *God in a Rolls Royce*, New York: Hillman-Curl, 1936, and R. W. Parker, *The Incredible Messiah*, Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1937, both on Father Divine; *Black Gods of the Metropolis*, by Arthur Huff Fauset (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, Publication of the Philadelphia Anthropological Society, Vol. III, 1944), contains material on Bishop Daddy Grace, Prophet F. S. Cherry, and Drew Ali, who claimed to be the reincarnation of Mohammed. For Elder Michaux, see "The Happy Am I Preacher as Seen in His Radio Pulpit on the Potomac," *The New York Times*, September 9, 1934.

⁵ Consult the *Crisis*, official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, XXXVII-XLVIII (1930-1941); "Toward Negro Unity," *The Nation*, March 11, 1936, analyzing the program of the newly formed National Negro Congress; "Negroes Unite to Force Test of Strength," *The Christian Science Monitor* (Boston), March 24, 1940; *The Official Proceedings of the National Negro Congress* (Washington: National Negro Congress, 1936) a report of the organization's beginning and first general assembly in Chicago, February 14-16, 1936; *The Programs, Ideologies, Tactics and Achievements of*

began to assume political importance.⁶ This multifaceted situation confronted the Negro masses in their selection of a leadership to guide them to a plane of equality with other citizens.

Individually, those aspiring to leadership attempted to corral the Negro masses and to set up an inclusive following, realizing that in numbers rested the power and the financial support necessary for the execution of a program. Although several leaders attained a measure of success, not one ever achieved anything like overall superiority. The chaotic condition of the Negro, reflecting and accentuating that of the general tempo of the times in an epoch of transition, generally prevented the unification of all Negroes under a single head. There developed a number of conflicting viewpoints on the question of goals to be achieved and tactics to be employed. Should the Negro lose his group identity and fight for full individual integration in the larger culture, or does he have a special contribution to make as a Negro? Should he concentrate upon building a separate economy within the larger economic framework, or would this be a mistake? What about a forty-ninth state? Where do special group arrangements conflict with his struggle for full citizenship?

Into this rising tide of intragroup conflict the Second World War intruded. The resulting upheaval forced group problems into a secondary role and drew the Negro into the accelerated activity of a nation involved in total war. However, conscious of and ready to take advantage of any opportunity to advance his cause, the Negro soon recognized that in the announced principles of the Atlantic Charter and the general theme of a war fought to establish democracy as the dominant form of government, he was presented with a logical situation in which to emphasize his case. The sudden expansion of the demand for manpower at the beginning of the war forced his acceptance in work formerly denied to the Negro because of his race, and his military contributions

Negro Betterment and Interracial Organizations, a research memorandum prepared by Ralph J. Bunche for the Carnegie-Myrdal Study on "The Negro in America," June 1940, Volumes I-IV. Unpublished manuscript in the Schomburg Collection of the New York Public Library, 136th Street Branch, New York City.

⁶ *The Political Status of the Negro*, September 1940, and *Politics*, Volumes I-III, two research memoranda prepared by Ralph J. Bunche for the Carnegie-Myrdal Study on "The Negro in America." Two unpublished manuscripts in the Schomburg Collection, New York Public Library; "The Negro Comes Back to the United States Congress," *Current History*, June 1929; "Chicago Sends a Negro to Congress," *The Christian Century*, March 7, 1929, both referring to Congressman Oscar DePriest from Chicago; Harold F. Gosnell, *Negro Politicians*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935, refers to the rise of the Negro in politics in Chicago.

offered a valid and strong talking point on which to ask for equal treatment. Moreover, wartime emphasis upon democratic living and the lessening of economic competition tended to abate prejudice at home to some extent. Many individuals accepted greater participation by Negroes than they would before have considered permissible. Thus during the war Negro leaders were quick to proclaim full cooperation by Negro citizens in the interest of the general welfare; but they did not fail to indicate that the home-front fight was as serious to them as the shooting war abroad.⁷

The end of the war ushered in a period of rapid change in group status, but the Negro had gained a firm toehold in the door of democracy and was determined that his experience of a generation ago, when he lost wartime gains in the following peace, should not be repeated. The leaders who had served during the recent war period were largely those who had mushroomed during the depression. The new situation presented new problems, but of greater significance was the new spirit that had developed in the Negro masses. The conscience of the masses was sharpened and the drive upward stimulated by their participation in industrial activity on a previously unknown scale, the army life which afforded provincially minded soldiers with new vistas of life, plus unpleasant experiences Negroes had undergone during service in the armed forces both at home and abroad. This eruption from the bottom struck the current leaders with full force and found them unprepared to cope with the surge. Today, this situation confronts the top Negro leadership, Mary McLeod Bethune, Walter White, and Lester Granger,⁸ the three who are considered by a large number of Negroes and those whites who make policy for the nation as the Negro leaders of real importance.

The masses are no longer divided into partially vocal Northern and quiescent Southern elements. Instead, an expanded and uncontrolled Negro mass outside the South has come forth with demands for rights

⁷ John Temple Graves, "The Southern Negro and the War Crisis," *The Virginia Quarterly*, Autumn 1942; Walter White, "Democracy for All," *Inter-racial Review*, XV (July 1942), pp. 104-05; "March on Washington Movement Plans Nationwide Campaign Against Discrimination in the Armed Forces," press release from the national headquarters of the MOWM, New York, January 5, 1945. See also editorials in the *Crisis*, XLIX-LII (1942-45); *Negro People Will Defend America*, a pamphlet made from a resolution adopted at an emergency meeting of the National Executive Board, National Negro Congress, December 9, 1941, Washington, 1942; Rayford W. Logan, editor, *What the Negro Wants*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944.

⁸ For material on these persons see Edwin R. Embree, *13 Against the Odds*, New York: The Viking Press, 1944; Walter White, *A Man Called White*, New York: The Viking Press, 1948.

here and now⁹ and the Southern Negro is no longer silent.¹⁰ Unionization has contributed significantly to this new mass movement in both regions, while even in the South an increasingly larger and more outspoken group of democratically minded white people have given strength to the Negro cause and encouraged this most underprivileged segment to make itself felt more strongly in the larger struggle of the Negro for equality.

The depression of the 1930's created what may be considered two schools of thought among Negroes. The first believed in caution and security consonant with the degree of white liberalism of the moment; the second had lost faith in all programs of moderation as a way out and insisted upon the abolishment of all methods based upon gradualism. But today no such sharp demarcation is visible among the Negro masses, although the present leadership retains characteristics akin to this division.¹¹ It is this condition—the moving masses unconsciously developing into a unified follower¹² and yet provided with a leadership unaware of the great change which has taken place in group thinking and structure—that poses such a tremendous problem for Negro leadership. Currently among the Negro masses there is only one school of thought: to build up a philosophy of union and strength in numbers, to struggle, to anticipate trouble, but not to waver in the concerted effort to attain full citizenship. As one Negro woman sharecropper stated, "The only way

⁹ *The March on Washington Mobilizes a Gigantic Crusade for Freedom*, E. Pauline Myers, (pamphlet), New York: March on Washington Movement, n.d.; "The New Negro," Mary McLeod Bethune, *Interracial Review*, XV (July 1942), p. 106; "Comments on Civil Rights Mobilization," *Crisis*, LVII (March 1950), pp. 167-68; see section appearing monthly in *Crisis* called "NAACP BATTLEFRONT," beginning with LVI (November 1949); Maurice R. Davie, *Negroes in American Society* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1949), pp. 449-57; Arnold M. Rose, *The Negro's Morale* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1949), Chaps. II and IV.

¹⁰ Ira DeA. Reid, "Race Relations in the South," *Opportunity*, XXIII (Fall, 1945), 188 ff.; Guy B. Johnson, "What Happened at Columbia, Tennessee," *New South*, I (May 1946), pp. 1-8; "Race Hatred Gets a Hearing," *New South*, II-III (December 1947-January 1948), pp. 7-10; Mark Ethridge, "The Second Reconstruction," *New South*, II (February 1947); "Set Education Bias Meet," report of conference of Southern educators who met in Atlanta, Georgia, April 1950, *New York Amsterdam News*, March 25, 1950 (Tuesday edition); Walter White, *A Rising Wind*, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1945.

¹¹ "How Our Race Is Double-Crossed," an editorial in the *Afro-American* (Baltimore) criticizing the NAACP, February 10, 1950; "Man-on-the-Street Looks at NAACP," *New York Amsterdam News*, Saturday, March 25, 1950; for an example of the conservatism of a well-known Negro leader, Lester B. Granger, secretary of the National Urban League, see his column, "Battle Axe and Bread," *New York Amsterdam News*, March 25, 1950; Oliver C. Cox, *Caste Class and Race* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1948), pp. 572-78.

¹² Rayford W. Logan, *op. cit.* This book expresses the similarity of purpose on the part of Negro leaders representing radical, liberal, and conservative opinion from both the North and the South. See also Rose, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-24.

to get anything in this country is to fight for it. We don't have anything to lose but our lives and they ain't worth much. They can't kill you but once."¹³

The temper of the masses inherent in such an expression denotes a oneness of purpose with which present Negro leadership is incapable of dealing. Caught unawares, current leadership continues to function within the context of two social premises they still believe have equal pull: gradualism with improvement through moderation and conciliation, or a sort of rebellious evolutionism characterized by a philosophy of verbalized open conflict with the status quo to effect an immediate change in the Negro's position. It is here that present leadership has miscalculated. It lacks the perception to understand that the Negro masses, North and South, have given increasing evidence of deep unrest and are disposed to do something in an organized way to remodel the social order.¹⁴ It has failed to realize that although the philosophy of gradualism has monopolized the field for a long time the day of reckoning with the other philosophy is at hand. The demands of economic survival, plus unanticipated problems created by a nation whose borders are no longer safe, require a new type of leader of great courage and tact and diplomacy who, conscious of the sacrifice involved, will willingly don the garb of martyrdom in the interest of the greater good to the Negro population as a whole.

So far, no person with a claim to any significant following has as yet given promise of fulfilling these exacting requirements. However, the increasing awareness of their political power on the part of the Negro masses¹⁵ has witnessed a noticeable upsurge of leadership in this direction; and the recognition of Negro political leaders by whites has been more than synthetic.¹⁶ There is a new stir on the religious

¹³ Report of an interview by Guy B. Johnson in his article "Negro Racial Movements and Leadership in the United States," *op. cit.*, p. 70.

¹⁴ "Along the NAACP Battlefront," *Crisis*, LVII (February 1950), a report of the National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization of more than 4,000 delegates from 33 states which met for a three-day lobbying conference in Washington, D.C., January 15-17, 1950. W. E. B. DuBois, editor, *An Appeal to the World* (New York: NAACP, 1947), the NAACP petition to the United Nations on the denial of human rights to American Negroes; *Annual Report for 1947* (New York, NAACP), pp. 15-44, 57.

¹⁵ Henry Lee Moon, *Balance of Power: The Negro Vote* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1948), Chap. X; V. O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1949), Chaps. XXIV and XXX; "Negro's Right to Primary Vote Is Gaining Broader Support," *New South*, I (January 1946), p. 10 and February issue, p. 6.

¹⁶ See notice of elevation of a Negro to vice-chairmanship of the Democratic Party, *The Pittsburgh Courier*, "Dems Move Up Dawson," December 10, 1949, p. 1.

front.¹⁷ This basis for organization, which once had the most obvious opportunity to organize the Negro group, is making great efforts to reassert itself. No new organizations have appeared to challenge the older ones and it is unlikely that the leadership of the latter will produce the guidance demanded by the new temper of the Negro masses.

Since this is a transition period, the situation of the Negro is necessarily in a state of flux; it is difficult to see clearly and to gauge accurately the general trend in leadership. The masses know which way they want to go, and this broad base is beginning to give impetus to the top. This wide foundation is shaping a consistent whole; when the solidifying process is complete, it may be that out of anonymity will eventually emerge that leadership, single or multiple, that the masses need to guide them toward full integration in the national culture.

¹⁷ "Negro's Court Appeal Backed by Protestants," *New York Herald Tribune*, December 7, 1949; "Churches in South Map Racial Drive," John N. Popham, December 9, 1949, *The New York Times*; Arnold M. Rose, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100.

SOME DIFFERENTIAL ATTITUDES AMONG ADOLESCENT GROUPS AS REVEALED BY BOGARDUS' SOCIAL DISTANCE SCALE

QUENTIN F. SCHENK AND A. KIMBALL ROMNEY
University of Wisconsin

In sociology, where it is rarely possible to perform actual experiments upon such problems as acceptance of minority groups and the effects upon social distance attitudes of social isolation and ecology, it is important to be constantly on the alert for situations where observations may be made which will contribute knowledge of such phenomena. One city which has an isolated minority group as well as somewhat distinct residential areas is Gary, Indiana. Gary also presents an ideal field for studies in racial attitudes, because one of the foremost issues in Gary today is the struggle between the Negro and white inhabitants. The Negroes, who account for 37 per cent of the population, are forced to live in one restricted area and seldom interact with any race or group other than their own. Thus, in many ways, the Negroes constitute a "cultural island."

The Bogardus Social Distance Scale provides a technique for measuring the attitudes of people concerning any given ethnic or racial group. The application of this scale to groups from various residential sections of Gary should contribute useful knowledge concerning the effects of such factors as race and ecology upon social distance attitudes. In this study attitudes of four adolescent groups, homogeneous as to residential area, are analyzed. These groups are chosen so that comparisons can be made between Negro and white groups, between white groups of different sections of Gary, and between different age groups within the same area. This type of analysis contributes information on the effect of three important differentials influencing social distance, namely, age, race, and type of residential area.

Ecological setting. The city of Gary is on the southern tip of Lake Michigan. The main industrial area, made up largely of steel mills, is in the northern section of the city near the lake. South of the industrial area three residential districts are clearly discernible. Figure 1 shows the relative location of the three areas with which this study is concerned: the "Downtown" district, Central district, and Glen Park. The evolution of these three districts is a unique development and requires a brief description.

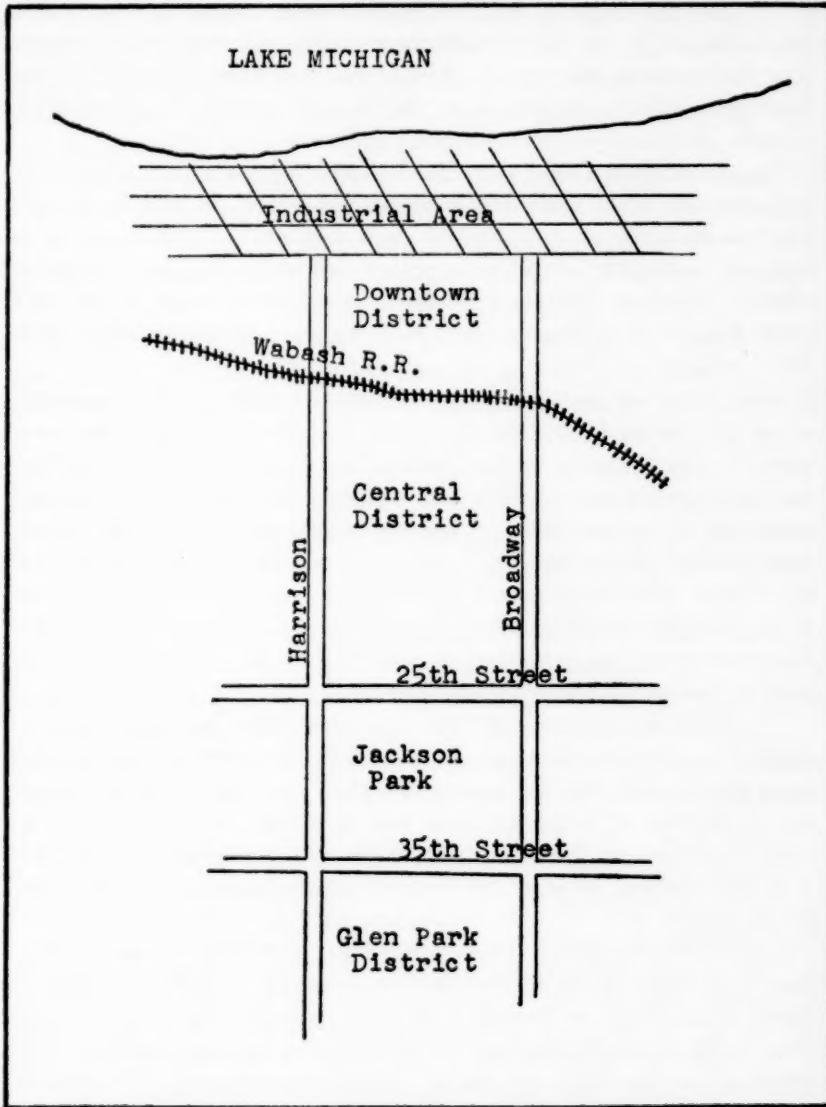


Figure 1. Sketch Showing Approximate Geographic Location of Three Residential Districts in Gary.

The city grew up as a result of the mills being located in an area that was accessible to the lake freighters and other lines of transportation. The first part of the city to develop was that part designated as the Downtown district in this study. Subsequent growth has taken place adjacent to Broadway, the main north and south thoroughfare.

The Downtown area was established soon after the mills were built and contains a relatively stable population which, by and large, has lived in the same location since it came to Gary with the mills. It is composed primarily of skilled workers and their families. They are predominantly of Northern European origin with some Polish and other Eastern European peoples. Negroes are entirely excluded from this district.

Since expansion could take place in only one direction, later additions to the population located to the south along Broadway. As Gary continued to grow, Central district became defined as a low-income residential area containing unskilled mill workers. During the war, the immigration of a large number of Negroes rapidly changed Central district from one including whites and Negroes to one inhabited almost entirely by Negroes. The whites moved to Glen Park and other outlying districts in Gary, while the Negroes were restricted to Central district. Jackson Park, a recreational area, half of which is out of bounds to Negroes, helps to prevent any migration to Glen Park.

The population of Central district is very dense, averaging approximately four persons per room. People in this area seldom come in personal contact with any race except their own. The Negroes are segregated on the beaches at Lake Michigan and of the ten or twelve parks in Gary only two or three are open to them, these having limited and crowded facilities. Most of the Negroes are employed as unskilled labor in the mills.

Glen Park, the district farthest south and well away from the mills, consists predominantly of middle-class people of Northern European background. Their socioeconomic status is generally much higher than that of the people in the Downtown area, the majority of Glen Park residents owning their own homes. It is composed partly of those who left Central district with the advent of the Negro.

Groups studied. Of the groups included in the study, one was from the Downtown area, one from Central district, and two from Glen Park.

The Downtown group consists of 22 boys between the ages of 12 and 15. Seven are Polish Catholics and the other 15 are Protestants of Northern European origin. All except two have lived in this section of Gary all their lives, these two each living there eight years.

The group from Central district is made up of 24 Negroes, all of Protestant faith. They are between the ages of 12 and 15 with the exception of one 16-year-old. All attend the one Negro school in Gary. Seventeen of the 24 were born in Gary, the other seven coming from the South.

The two groups from Glen Park are similar except in regard to age. The younger group ranges in age from 12 to 15. Of the 23 persons in this group all except three have lived in Gary all their lives. The group is composed entirely of people of Northern European stock and of Presbyterian faith. The older Glen Park group is composed of 20 members ranging in age from 15 to 18 years. Seven of the 20 have moved to Gary from other towns, but all have lived in Glen Park for ten years or more. Unlike the groups from other areas, both Glen Park groups are made up of males and females. It was noted in administering the test that there is a definite difference in the external appearance and behavior of the older Glen Park group as compared with the younger group. The older group model their dress and actions along adult lines. The younger group, in contrast, are more typically adolescent in dress and behavior.

The Social Distance Scale. The scale used to gather the information is an adaptation of the Social Distance Test originated by E. S. Bogardus.¹ It consists of a series of statements indicating the closeness of contact which one is willing to have with a given ethnic or racial group. An attempt is made in this series of 11 statements to obtain a proportionate progression from impersonal to personal relations. These statements are:

- I would admit (given ethnic or racial group)
 - To live in the United States
 - To citizenship in the United States
 - To the street where I live, as neighbors
 - To the school I attend
 - To my church as full members
 - To competition with me in such games as baseball or volleyball
 - To the same swimming pools in the same parks
 - To the same tent or cottage with me at camp
 - To sleep with me at camp or on a hiking trip
 - To my home as personal chums
 - To marriage with a brother or sister of mine

¹ E. S. Bogardus, *Introduction to Social Research* (Los Angeles: Suttonhouse, 1936), pp. 90-103.

There are 14 groups toward which attitudes of social distance were obtained: Chinese, English, French, Germans, Irish, Italians, Japanese, Jews, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Negroes, Polish, Russians, and Swedish. Other information obtained includes age, address, place of birth, nationality, nationality of mother and father, and religion.

The scale is mimeographed in the conventional manner with the following directions at the top, "Place a cross (x) under the relationship into which you would willingly admit members of each nationality listed. (Think of the members of the nationality as a class and not as either the best or worst you have known.)"

The scale was administered to each group as a whole. It was described to the entire group, with specific instructions being given, including the fact that no names were to be placed on the forms. Individual instructions were given where needed.

Results and interpretation. The results are tabulated in Table 1 and presented graphically in Table 2. The per cent of favorable responses reported in these tables is computed by dividing the total responses possible, for the ethnic or racial group, into the responses actually recorded for that group. These percentages are then plotted in Table 2;

TABLE 1

PER CENT FAVORABLE RESPONSES OF THE ADOLESCENT GROUPS

| Ethnic or Racial Group | Adolescent Groups | | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------|---------|----------------------|--------------------|
| | Downtown | Central | Younger Glen Park | Older Glen Park |
| Chinese..... | 65.3 | 57.2 | 69.4 | 26.8 |
| English..... | 78.9 | 54.2 | 96.7 | 63.6 |
| French..... | 85.1 | 58.3 | 86.0 | 79.5 |
| German..... | 72.7 | 43.2 | 81.0 | 80.9 |
| Irish..... | 83.5 | 55.7 | 94.2 | 90.5 |
| Italian..... | 65.3 | 48.5 | 81.0 | 45.9 |
| Japanese..... | 49.2 | 43.6 | 38.0 | 20.5 |
| Jew..... | 54.1 | 53.4 | 43.4 | 46.8 |
| Puerto Rican..... | 49.2 | 48.9 | 60.7 | 25.5 |
| Mexican..... | 62.4 | 64.4 | 58.7 | 23.6 |
| Negro..... | 49.6 | 99.2 | 49.2 | 28.6 |
| Polish..... | 62.8 | 49.6 | 66.9 | 46.4 |
| Russian..... | 58.3 | 50.8 | 52.1 | 58.6 |
| Swedish..... | 78.9 | 53.8 | 82.2 | 80.9 |

for example, the per cent favorable response of the Downtown adolescents toward the Chinese is approximately 65, for the English approximately 78, for the French approximately 85, and so on for the remainder of the groups. It is to be emphasized that the "per cent favorable response" was devised primarily to indicate relative Social Distance of the four groups for comparative purposes in this study. It indicates, therefore, only relative attitudes, and no precise estimates of its absolute meaning can be made.

For the Downtown adolescents, groups of Northern European origin show the highest acceptance scores. The Japanese, Jewish, Puerto Rican, Mexican, Negro, and Russian—all have relatively few favorable responses. Moreover, the social distance scores of the Downtown group are very closely paralleled by the younger group from Glen Park. Statistically, there is no demonstrable difference between these two groups.

The form of the graph for the older Glen Park group is somewhat similar to that for the above groups, but in most cases they make fewer favorable responses than either the Downtown or the younger Glen Park groups. If the attitude of the older Glen Park group toward the Chinese, Italians, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and Negroes is compared with the judgments on these same groups made by the younger Glen Park adolescents, then a difference is obtained which is significant at the .01 level.

An understanding of the role that age plays in shaping social distance attitudes in Gary adolescents may be obtained by an analysis of the differences in response of the two Glen Park groups. The adults of Glen Park area are active in keeping the Negro and other minority groups out of Glen Park by enforcing restrictive housing clauses, keeping Negroes out of the white section of Jackson Park, and other similar measures. It seems significant that the young people from 15 to 18 in Glen Park reflect these adult attitudes in their Social Distance scores. They are apparently aspiring to adult status and tend to value the adult mores and attitudes, adopting them as their own. The scores also seem to indicate a high in-group feeling. As compared with the younger Glen Park group the older adolescents make a greater discrimination between culture groups with which they identify and other ethnic and racial groups. On the other hand, the younger group does not seem to be as interested in the "differences" which exist between various ethnic and racial groups and is not as conscious of the expansion pressures exerted on the Glen Park area by minority groups.

TABLE 2

COMPARISON OF SOCIAL DISTANCE RESPONSES OF FOUR
ADOLESCENT GROUPS IN GARY, INDIANA

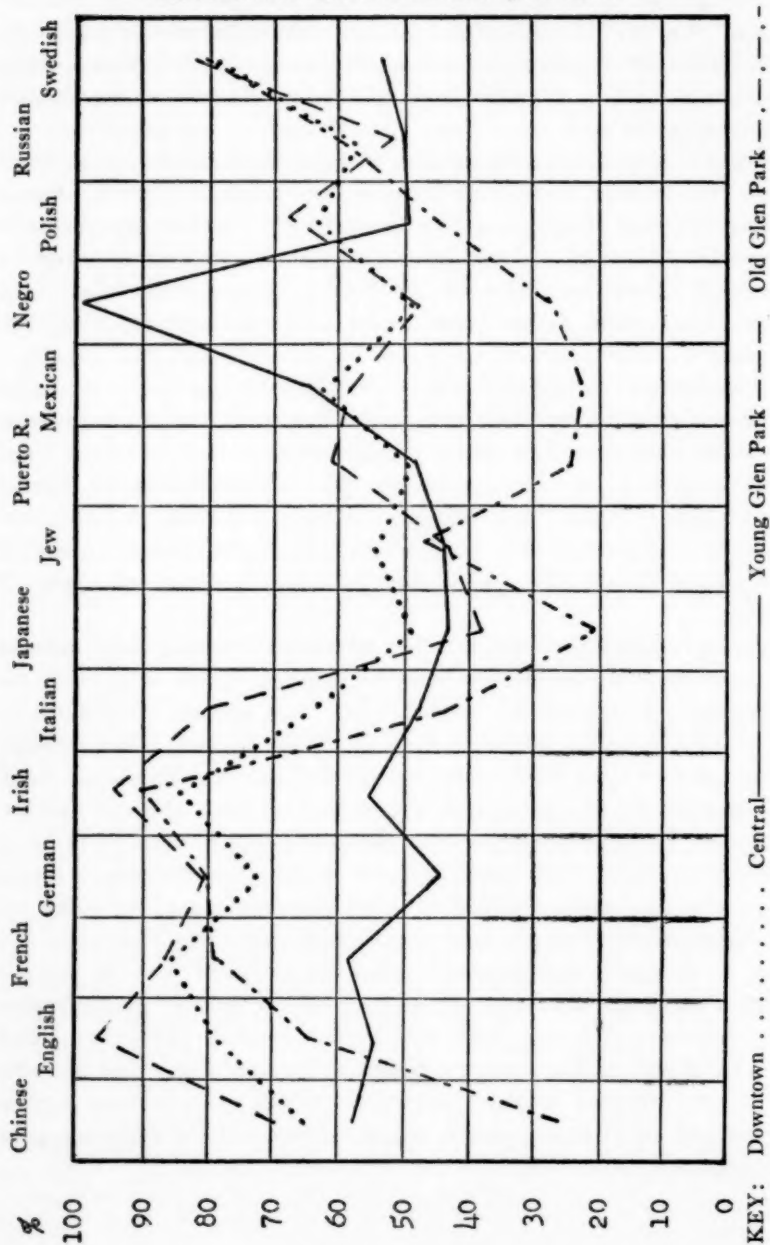


Table 2 shows that the social distance scores of the Negroes in Central district stand in marked contrast to those of the three white groups discussed above. The difference in the response of Central district Negroes to members of their own group as compared with their responses to all other groups is significant at the .01 level. With this exception Central district adolescents make no significant differentiations between racial or ethnic groups. All groups, other than Negro, tend to receive about the same number of favorable responses, but acceptance of their own group is very high.

This indicates quite clearly that the Negro adolescents in the Central district group tend not to distinguish between the various white groups but rather to lump them all together. The fact that they do make a very strong differentiation between themselves and all other groups indicates a great deal of in-group solidarity. This is also a reflection of the fact that they have almost no association with outside groups. They distinguish that these other ethnic groups are "different" from themselves but make no distinction between varying degrees of "difference," as was the case with the three white groups.

Summary. On the basis of the comparisons made it is concluded that:

1. The Negro responses differed significantly from those of the white groups in that they made a very strong differentiation between themselves and all other groups. They made no significant differentiations among the other racial and ethnic groups.
2. The responses of the older Glen Park group differed significantly from those of the younger Glen Park group, indicating that these responses may change with age. In general, the responses of the older group had a wider range than those of the younger group.
3. There was no significant difference between the Downtown group and the younger Glen Park group, both of which were in the same age range. This indicates that the influence of differences in residential area did not show up as important as did the differences in age and race.

MATE SELECTION AMONG NEGRO AND WHITE COLLEGE STUDENTS

MARVIN B. SUSSMAN AND HAROLD C. YEAGER, JR.
Yale University

This paper summarizes the results of an investigation into the differential importance of several factors influencing mate selection among white and Negro college students. The purpose of the study was two-fold: (1) to determine the extent to which individuals identify themselves as members of racial and other groups in the highly individualistic task of mate selection, and thus (2) to disclose possible differential value systems attendant upon their particular group identifications.

The findings of this investigation are based upon the answers to questionnaires completed by samples of Negro and white college students respectively. The questionnaire, which was used with some modification by the writers, is the work of J. S. Himes, Jr., North Carolina College, whose findings have appeared recently.¹

The questionnaire contained inquiries concerning nineteen factors. Students were asked to rate each factor as to the degree of importance they would attach to it in mate selection, i.e., as either negligible (1), desirable (2), important (3), or indispensable (4).

The following nineteen questions were included:

1. Do you consider dependability (character) as.....1 2 3 4
2. Do you rate self-control, concern for others,
and responsibility as.....1 2 3 4
3. Do you consider attractive disposition and
personality as1 2 3 4
4. Do you rate mutual attraction (love) as.....1 2 3 4
5. Do you regard good health as.....1 2 3 4
6. Do you rate the desire for children as.....1 2 3 4
7. Do you regard the wish for a home as.....1 2 3 4
8. Do you consider neatness, refinement, bearing,
and the like as.....1 2 3 4
9. Do you regard ambition for social status as.....1 2 3 4
10. Do you rate ambition for economic security as.....1 2 3 4
11. Do you consider the ability to be a good cook
and housekeeper as.....1 2 3 4
12. Do you rate sociability (liking for people and
ability to mix well) as.....1 2 3 4

¹ "Mate Selection among Negro College Students," *Sociology and Social Research*, January-February 1949.

13. Do you consider a similar religious background
as1 2 3 4
14. Do you regard similarity of education as.....1 2 3 4
15. Do you rate similarity of political background
as1 2 3 4
16. Do you regard sex appeal as.....1 2 3 4
17. Do you rate being affectionate as.....1 2 3 4
18. Do you regard being considerate as.....1 2 3 4
19. Do you rate insight and understanding as.....1 2 3 4

The two samples tested differed markedly in only three significant respects—racial, religious, and regional characteristics. The Negro group studied by Himes, numbering 130, were all undergraduates in the North Carolina College at Durham; 70 of the students were men, 60 women, and the majority between the ages of 20 and 25. Our white sample, numbering 285, was comprised of students at the University of Connecticut Extension at Waterbury and the New Haven Junior College of Commerce; of this group, 232 were males, 53 females, and the majority between the ages of 18 and 24. While the Negro sample was exclusively Protestant, a breakdown of the white group by religious affiliation disclosed 45 per cent to be Catholic and 5 per cent Jewish.

Findings. The relative importance of the above-mentioned factors for males and females was determined by appropriately weighting, for a given factor, the percentages in each category—4 x per cent Indispensable, 3 x per cent Important, 2 x per cent Desirable, 1 x per cent Negligible—and comparing the weighted totals.

The main finding is that 14 of the factors were rated similarly by both groups and that only 5 were rated differently.

Examination of Table 1 reveals that factors of similarity are placed in approximately the same positions by all respondents, regardless of their differing racial, religious, and regional backgrounds. Especially striking is the general unanimity of opinion among whites and Negroes concerning the relative importance of those values which stress expected or desired harmonious interpersonal relationships between prospective marital partners. These constitute the majority of the factors of similarity. An apparent exception to this general conclusion is found in the case of Insight and Understanding. While undoubtedly a personal value, it appears as a notable factor of difference between the two groups (see Table 2).

The writers are at a loss to explain the extreme difference in rankings accorded the factor Insight and Understanding by the two groups. The limited data of this study do not provide an adequate explanation of

this difference. They suggest, however, the possibility for further study on whether ethnic, religious, or regional factors are involved. For example, does the condition whereby heterogeneous urban whites of different religions and ethnic descent tend to mix freely in certain areas of

TABLE 1
FACTORS OF SIMILARITY IN MATE SELECTION BY RACE AND SEX

| Factors | Relative Rankings for | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|
| | White Males | White Females | Negro Males | Negro Females |
| Mutual Attraction..... | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Dependability..... | 2 | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| Neatness and Refinement..... | 3 | 9 | 4 | 8 |
| Being Considerate..... | 5 | 5 | 6 | 5 |
| Attractive Disposition..... | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| Self-Control..... | 6 | 4 | 8 | 6 |
| Desire for Home..... | 8 | 8 | 9 | 9 |
| Being Affectionate..... | 12 | 10 | 10 | 12 |
| Sociability..... | 11 | 11 | 11 | 10 |
| Sex Appeal..... | 16 | 13 | 12 | 11 |
| Cooking and Housekeeping..... | 13 | 15 | 13 | 13 |
| Ambition for Social Status..... | 18 | 18 | 16 | 16 |
| Similar Education..... | 17 | 16 | 17 | 15 |
| Similar Politics..... | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 |

interaction, with the real possibility of a cross marriage resulting, place greater value on insight and understanding in the belief either that they might overcome the practical diversities of such a marital union, or that they can be obtained only in a marriage within the same religious and ethnic group?

TABLE 2
FACTORS OF DIFFERENCE IN MATE SELECTION BY RACE AND SEX

| Factors | Relative Rankings for | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|
| | White Males | White Females | Negro Males | Negro Females |
| Good Health..... | 15 | 17 | 1 | 2 |
| Insight and Understanding..... | 4 | 3 | 15 | 17 |
| Economic Security..... | 9 | 6 | 5 | 3 |
| Desire for Children..... | 10 | 12 | 14 | 14 |
| Similar Religion..... | 14 | 14 | 18 | 18 |

The factor of Good Health was rated most important by the Negro male and second in importance by the Negro female. The white male and female ranked it 15th and 17th respectively. Here again, the data do not give a basis for an explanation of the divergence in ranking. Is it due to regional differences in health conditions and standards? Is good health a racial problem and thus of more concern to the Negro in mate selection? These questions suggest further research.

The remaining factors—Desire for Children, Similar Religion, and Economic Security—are ranked differentially by both groups with decreased margins of significance. Does the Negro's greater desire for economic security, the white's increased demand that prospective mates be of similar religious affiliation, and the white's increased desire for children have any relationship to racial, ethnic, regional, and religious conditions? More specifically, are these differences attributable to the particular situation and cultural milieu in which each group operates? These questions also pose problems for further research.

The study in general suggests that dominant cultural values (as expressed by the factors of similarity) tend to be diffused more or less equally among the subgroups which comprise the total society. The wide diversity of ranking of some values in the two samples (as expressed by the factors of difference) may be attributable to the peculiar conditions, as expressed by racial, religious, regional, and ethnic variants, operating differentially on the two groups.

REDUCING RACIAL TENSIONS*

EMORY S. BOGARDUS
University of Southern California

Research in the field of race relations has reached the point where the results throw considerable light on possible methods of reducing racial tensions. More studies are needed concerning the origins of these tensions.

A large number of people have gained a great deal of significant experience in their attempts to reduce racial tensions. Some of these have utilized research findings, while others have proceeded along the hard way of trial and error, based on their own individual efforts.

The importance of reducing these tensions was once considered a matter for only the local community to consider. More recently, for example in the South, the leaders of both the white and Negro racial groups have recognized the need for a regional approach that will include economic, political, legal, and other expressions of fair play.

World War II put the United States on the spot with reference to its domestic handling of racial relationships. Internal and local problems were mirrored before a world two-thirds colored people. In postwar days the United States, in competition with the U.S.S.R. for the support of the world, finds that it is seeking this support from a billion and more colored people. These colored folk are comparing the treatment of the colored people in the United States with the treatment of colored people in the U.S.S.R. Hence, large numbers of our citizens who have heretofore been quite content to let discrimination practices alone are now reluctantly admitting that some important changes must be made in our racial relationships or else the United States will lose world support in its struggle with communism.

What is a race? Scientifically it is a group of people possessing a distinctive line of biological characteristics. But the cultural anthropologists who are studying the various peoples of the world today cannot find any large group of people which possess biological characteristics that no other group possesses. Hence the term *race* cannot be used scientifically except in some general way to refer to mankind.

Popularly speaking, a race is a group of people who have acquired cultural differences of a distinctive nature and who perhaps possess some more or less distinctive biological traits—which upon examination turn out to be superficial except as some opposing group makes them

*Adapted from a paper presented at the Mid-Century Institute of Religion and World Tensions, at Boston University, March 13, 1950.

seem important. The biological differences may be illustrated by the variations in color of the skin, which are not even skin deep but only pigmentation deep, and which do not seem to bear any genetic connections with intellectual abilities or ability to serve the world efficiently.

The nature of race tensions is even more complicated than the nature of races. Race tension is a straining of human relationships that occurs (1) when a dominant ethnic group fears that some of its social values will be taken away from it by another ethnic group or (2) when a non-dominant group feels that it is being treated unjustly in one or more particulars by the dominant group. When a dominant group develops fears as described and at the same time a nondominant group develops hatred on the basis of a sense of grave injustice, conditions are ripe for racial tensions to develop into riots.

The reduction of racial tensions depends on a great variety of factors. Only a few of these can be indicated here.

1. In a series of experiments conducted by Lewin, Lippitt, White, and others, the effects of group atmosphere upon the members of different group structures have been compared.¹ In one experimental group, called authoritarian, the decisions were made for the group members. In another group, called laissez faire, no decisions were made for the members, but they were allowed to do as they pleased as individuals. In a third group, called democratic, a plan was carried out where policies were developed by common decision, work was distributed by common agreement after discussion, performances of the members were measured by objective criteria, and distance between leader and the group was kept to a minimum. Of the various results obtained in these experiments one stands out, namely, "expressions of irritability and aggressiveness" toward fellow members occurred more frequently in the authoritarian and the laissez faire atmospheres than in the democratic atmosphere. In other words, these experiments seem to indicate that the authoritarian group atmosphere and the laissez faire group atmosphere are factors in arousing racial tensions and that a democratic group atmosphere keeps racial tensions down. Hence all who would reduce racial tensions may redouble and treble their efforts in spreading and improving a democratic group atmosphere.

2. Racial tensions bear a direct relation not only to authoritarian and to laissez faire group atmospheres but also to the expression of perverse personality traits, such as fear and hate, and to traits which

¹ Lippitt and White, "An Experimental Study of Leadership and Group Life," in Newcomb and Hartley, *Readings in Social Psychology* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1947), pp. 315-30.

under provocation become perverse, such as an attitude for security that depends on unjust exercise of power, or ambition that becomes aggressiveness. The lack of personal control of the feelings and emotions under social excitation may stimulate and augment tense interracial situations. One aggravating display of behavior by some of the members of one ethnic group brings out the worst behavior of some of the members of another ethnic group and thus a vicious circle develops until a racial tension moves into a racial riot.

Several years ago I heard Rabbi Stephen S. Wise speak to his large congregation in New York on the subject, Why is there Anti-Semitism? He first described a number of personality traits of Gentiles which he identified with anti-Semitism, and then a number of personality traits of Jews which aggravated if they had not induced a part of the undesirable Gentile behavior. Neither list of personality traits spoke very well for civilized human beings. Each oozed with misunderstanding and ill-considered emotion, and each reflected a jumping to conclusions before any sizable proportion of the evidence was in. Each stemmed from an artificial ethnocentrism. It was only in the basic tenets of fair play as found in ethical Judaism and ethical Christianity that a common ground for mutual understanding and adjustment appeared available.

3. Another factor in racial tensions is sometimes found in the overpopulation of a minority group living in an urban area that a dominant group has circumscribed by restrictive covenants and other procedures. Some newspapers carried reports on March 12, 1940, that race riots were imminent in Detroit and that all the law enforcement forces were being alerted to the dangers. An explanation of the extreme tension was the overcrowding of Negroes in certain circumscribed areas and their "spilling over" into adjoining areas where "neighborhood protective associations" of one type or another were determined to keep the Negroes out. In these overlapping areas, name-calling, vexatious signs, stone-throwing, fist-fighting, and perhaps shooting are components of a grave racial tension situation.

4. The reduction of racial tensions depends on the substitution of fair interracial practices for practices judged unfair by the nondominant group. The much-discussed unjust practices include discrimination against the nondominant group in employment procedures, second-class citizenship, where members of a minority group (a) do not have the usual voting privileges and (b) are not accorded full legal protection, but are discriminated against in education, transportation, housing, eating, and social status.

While the reduction of racial tensions involves overcoming these

discriminations and substituting fair employment practices, fair educational opportunities, and so forth, some people would eliminate these unfair practices by a single bound, but such a perfectionist procedure generally fails. It does not seem possible to jump from gross injustices to perfect human treatment except by the use of force that sometimes involves violence. But force and violence usually breed evils as serious as those they would overcome. Heaven is not reached at a single bound, and the reduction of racial tensions involves substituting fair play for discrimination, step by step.

5. The reduction of racial tensions involves an avoidance of racial stereotypes and an evaluation of people as individual human beings. Stereotypes are not only pictures in one's head, as Walter Lippmann once declared,² but they are generalizations based on partial observations or secondhand statements. They are reached by subjective snap judgments rather than by objective and reliable research. In studying Caucasian-Japanese tensions some years ago the writer met a Caucasian woman who asserted that all Japanese are liars. When she was asked how many Japanese she knew, she replied one. What had he done? He had left her employment without telling her that he was quitting. When he was located later, living with his family in another community, he was asked why he had left without notifying his employer, and he replied that he was homesick for his family, but that in Japan for a man to admit such homesickness would be considered a sign of unforgivable weakness. He did not want to manufacture a reason for leaving the Caucasian woman's employment and thus lie to his employer, and so he chose the third course that was open, namely, leaving without explaining. However, our Caucasian friend still insisted that all Japanese are liars, because she had had an unfavorable experience with one, and that was enough for her to stereotype adversely 70,000,000 people.

People are living more and more in groups, and the relation of group to group is becoming "the central issue of modern society."³ Persons are being judged more and more, not by what they are, but innocently by the social groups whose unscientific labels they bear. Hence they are being drawn more and more into group tension situations. These group tensions constitute a field of forces that play upon personality traits and bring them into conflict with antagonistic personality reactions in some contending group. It is only when individuals are judged as individuals

² Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1922), p. 30.

³ R. M. MacIver, *The More Perfect Union* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948), Chap. 1.

and not as group members bearing labels or stereotypes that racial tensions can be avoided.

As the Greek derivation of the term indicates, a stereotype is something that is fixed or rigid. Conditions or facts may change but stereotypes lag far behind. It is better not to develop racial stereotypes at all but to judge each person one meets on his individual merits or demerits. Pearl S. Buck is reported to have had a caller one day who was received by Mrs. Buck's young daughter. "Is she American or Chinese?" asked Mrs. Buck of her daughter, whereupon the young girl replied: "I don't know. I didn't ask her." Here is one person at least who has not learned to indulge in racial stereotypes. Here is a person who judges people as individual human beings and not according to "a series of colored totem poles."⁴

6. Racial tensions cannot be reduced permanently unless other concomitant tensions, such as economic tensions, civic tensions, social status tensions, are reduced at the same time. In our Southern states not many years ago as many as 800 commissions on interracial cooperation were organized, composed in each case of both Caucasians and Negroes. About 200 of these commissions achieved tangible results in softening racial tensions, but the leaders began to come to the conclusion about 1940 that a permanent reduction of racial tensions would depend on the simultaneous reduction also of economic, civic, and social status tensions. Near the close of the War, in 1944, the general Commission on Interracial Cooperation gave way, except legally, to the new Southern Regional Council with headquarters in Atlanta, and with Professor Howard W. Odum, a sociologist from the University of North Carolina, as its first president. This Council designated all the Southern states as a single region for the purpose of improving simultaneously "the region's economic, civic, social, and racial conditions." The Council began a program of research and action to remold and to articulate public opinion through the radio, the press, speakers, and publications, not just in race relations but along all lines of human relationship together.

Racial tensions may be reduced, for example, by improving the economic opportunities of minority groups and affording them fair employment practices, by enabling them to vote and to hold office according to their civic abilities, by providing them with educational facilities like those of any other group, by giving them the same legal protection as given the dominant group. As the members of minority groups become educated men and women, people of material means, citizens of public

⁴ C. C. Coleman, *Patterns of Race Relations in the South* (New York: Exposition Press, 1949), p. 43.

devotion, other factors leading to racial tensions, such as segregation, automatically tend to lose their strength, to arouse less fear, and to set the patterns of their own solution. Racial tensions can be dissolved by moving along some fronts more rapidly than along others and by keeping all efforts as integral parts of a long-term program.

Sometimes it is necessary in racial matters to move from what has been called "unintelligent disagreement" to intelligent disagreement. The former refers to a static condition where a group has no idea regarding the situation and reasoning of the opposing group. Moreover, the members do not want to know and do not care. They resist being informed. Progress in interracial matters is made if such a group can be moved toward intelligent disagreement, which means that both parties to a racial impasse are informed about and understand what the opposing group's situation is like, but still do not accept it. A mutual knowledge situation may lead to tolerance and to adjustments.

7. Racial tensions may be reduced or prevented if members of a dominant group will cease "scapegoating" practices and instead place the blame for certain conflicts, not on some minority group that happens to be standing by, but where it may belong, namely, on themselves.⁵ There are two subterfuges used by "scapegoaters." (1) When they are blocked in some enterprise they put the blame for their own failure upon an innocent by-standing group. When people accustomed to exercising power find themselves deprived of such exercise, they are likely to assume that because they have exercised power in the past they should continue to do so. (2) When people wish to sidetrack public attention from their own questionable doings, they may denounce some other group, usually one not in a position to defend itself. When they have successfully diverted public attention, they slip into office or carry on nefarious practices.

8. Legislation against unfair interracial practices is often urged, because public opinion is frequently unorganized and sometimes confused by misleading propaganda. Public opinion can be manipulated so many times in ways disastrous to nondominant groups.

Laws are important factors in making uniform the uneven exercise of social control through public opinion. They can bring a small number of shrewd persons to account who, under cover, carry on unfair practices. Laws tend to bring the reluctant few in line.

However, legislation is ineffective if not supported by a strong public opinion. A mere majority opinion may not be adequate, for sometimes

⁵ T. W. Adorno and others, *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950), p. 233.

a recalcitrant minority moved by strong emotions can defeat the will of a lethargic majority which settles back into a daily routine once it has expressed itself at the polls.

9. Education is perhaps the most important component in a program of reducing and preventing racial tensions. It begins in the home, kindergarten, and first grades in school. In a recent study of 250 children five to eight years of age, enrolled in kindergarten, the first and second grades, it was found that these children showed an awareness of racial and religious differences, that some had experienced hostile reactions already toward certain groups other than their own, and that their incipient attitudes seemed to reflect the patterns of group prejudice that function in the adult culture.⁶ The study indicates a current inadequacy of the public schools and points to the need for definite intercultural programs for children.

Other studies show the need for universal adult education of parents regarding intercultural understanding, for the first transference of group prejudice to children occurs by way of parents, in the home, at the dinner table, and through the use of uncomplimentary name-calling.

A person wishing to reduce local racial tensions may be instrumental in helping to set up an appropriate educational program in some one community institution to which he belongs, for example, an intercultural workshop once a year in his church, or in some social club or fraternal organization of which he is a member. The number of meetings, the place and hours of meeting, the organizational setup, the persons in charge, and the resource persons from the community are procedures that may be decided upon to a large extent by those who apply and who are accepted as workshop members. The members ordinarily come together not only to discuss the different culture patterns represented in the given community, the origins of the differences in these patterns, and the nature of any so-called racial tensions, but also to participate in cooperative activities, such as cooperative recreation. In these discussions and activities ways of alleviating tensions come to the surface. The intercultural workshop functions to create cultural and ethnic understanding, to dispel unjustified distrust, and to eliminate or prevent racial tensions. As a result of participating in an intercultural workshop its members become a leaven in their local organizations; they become more understanding, appreciative, and cooperative in their minority group

⁶ Marian Radke, Helen G. Trager, and Hadassah Davis, "Social Perceptions and Attitudes of Children," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 40:327-447, 1949.

relationships; they acquire techniques for furthering the intercultural development of the persons whom they meet daily.⁷

In a series of experiments conducted recently by the writer, it was found that the members of an intercultural workshop who met five days a week for six weeks experienced a decrease during that period of 21 points in racial distance reactions (out of a possible 64 points), as compared with a matched controlled group that experienced no decrease in their racial distance attitudes during the same period.⁸ Since the critical ratio was 7.2, the marked decrease in racial distance reactions by the experimental group may be regarded as statistically significant. Moreover, this decrease possessed some lasting qualities, for the experimental group, when tested again nine months after the close of the intercultural workshop, showed that the decrease in racial distance recorded at the end of the workshop period had been fully maintained.

In conclusion it may be said that cooperative education and ideology need to go hand in glove with cooperative programs of all kinds. Cooperative activities conducted in a democratic group atmosphere can give a needed somatic reinforcement to a cooperative ideology.⁹ The reduction of racial tensions in the last analysis involves viewing race relationships as an integral part of all human relationships and providing a fair treatment of every member and every tribe "on this terrestrial ball."

⁷ S. G. Cole, "The Intercultural Workshop," *Sociology and Social Research*, 30:476-83, 1946.

⁸ E. S. Bogardus, "The Intercultural Workshop and Racial Distance," *Sociology and Social Research*, 32:798-802, 1948.

⁹ G. L. Freeman, *The Energetics of Human Behavior* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1948), p. 12.

SOCIAL THEORY

PERCEPTION AND PERSONALITY. A Symposium. Edited by Jerome S. Brunner and David Krech. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1950, pp. ix+266.

A symposium of experts present the results of their latest thought and research concerning the influence of personality factors on perception. The papers in the series have now been published in book form by Duke University Press.

The contributors are nearly all well-known psychologists. Although they represent widely different backgrounds and interests, they are united in recognizing that the traditional theories of perception do not take the influence of personality into account adequately.

The first part of the book is devoted to papers proposing theoretical approaches to the understanding of the dynamics of perception; the second part consists of reports of recent research in the field. The various research findings corroborate each other to a surprising extent, considering the number and diversity of the experiments described, and point to the crucial importance of the motivational state of the individual in determining what he will perceive in a given stimulus situation. Bibliographies are given at the ends of the papers; unfortunately, there is no index.

The symposium gives very little attention to interpersonal factors, but it represents an important advance on one of the boundaries of the field of social psychology.

BRUCE PRINGLE

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIETY. By Nels F. S. Ferré. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950, pp. ix+280.

The third volume of "reason and the Christian faith" series, this book attempts to apply Christian doctrines to certain phases of society. After stating what the author conceives to be the "eternal purpose and the historic process," he explores the doctrinal basis of the church in relation to the world, providing insights for a Christian philosophy of social action. The final section is devoted to three situations—war, property, and education—which illuminate his thesis of how God works in the world. While several sociologists are quoted, the books contain little material that commonly is treated in a discourse on the "sociological aspects of religion."

THE INDIVIDUAL AND HIS RELIGION. By Gordon W. Allport. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950, pp. vi+147.

In this small but compact book the author endeavors to present the broad outlines of the place of religion in human life from a psychological point of view. After an introductory chapter on the origins of the religious quest, Dr. Allport writes of the religion of youth and of maturity, the relation of religion to conscience and mental health, and the nature of doubt and of faith.

One of the main points of emphasis concerns itself with the process of outgrowing one's childhood religion and becoming mature in religious thinking. Belief normally seems to develop in three stages: the period of raw credulity, the experience of doubts which flood into one's life, and the stage of mature belief (faith) which grows painfully out of the alternating doubts and affirmations that characterize productive thinking.

M.H.N.

PROPHETS OF DECEIT. A Study of the Techniques of the American Agitator. By Leo Lowenthal and Norbert Guterman. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949, pp. xvii+164.

The opening paragraph of this quest for insight into the devices of the "lunatic fringe" is entitled "The Agitator Speaks." It is a composite quotation from the harangues of the motley crew of American agitators. The final paragraph, translating the quotation into its underlying message, is captioned "The Agitator Means." This clever device of composition spotlights the social-psychological alchemy of the book, whereby the contextually senseless message of the demagogue is transmuted into the psychologically significant purpose which it accomplishes. For example, when an agitator rants that, ". . . wars alone, created by 'Satan's Chosen People,' just the past 25 years, have liquidated over 50,000,000 Christians. . ." he "exploits the conspiracy device to suggest to his audience that accidents and natural events are diabolic plots of the enemy" (p. 53).

Taking the title of their book from the biblical quotation, "Yea, they are prophets of the deceit of their own heart" (Jer. 23:26), the authors present a qualitative analysis of the way in which the agitator verbally manipulates the frustrations, envies, prejudices, and restlessness of the malcontents of society, that is, of those who are most affected by what the authors term, social "malaise." As contrasted with the reformer and the revolutionary, the agitator does not find the locus of

the ills of these people in the objective social situation or in social organization, but in the machinations and malevolence of foreigners, Jews, "New Dealers," international bankers and financiers, communists, plutocrats, and similar catchword categories.

It does not appear to the reviewer, however, that the authors have adequately shown what the *profits* of deceit may be, though one may readily surmise that economic interest and the lust for power may be served by the techniques of demagoguery. Furthermore, whether the agitator is himself aware of the subtle significance and effects of his activities, the authors are not prepared to say.

The reader may be inclined to question this hesitancy, as well as two other characteristics of the study: (1) the tendency toward a psychoanalytical interpretation of some of the devices of the agitator and audience reactions and (2) the lack of any systematic analysis of the kind of person who is attracted by the agitator. Despite these limitations the present volume, one of a series of "Studies in Prejudice" sponsored by the American Jewish Committee, focuses the spotlight of scientific social analysis in an area which has so far been neglected—surprisingly so, in view of the raucous, though minor, role the agitator has played on the American scene. In thus analyzing the phenomena of social demagoguery, Lowenthal and Guterman have performed a useful service to social science and democracy.

MELVIN NADELL

SOCIOLOGY. By W. J. H. Sprott. London: Hutchinson's University Library, 1950, pp. 191.

In this work by a professor of philosophy in the University of Nottingham, a great deal of reliance is placed upon the ideas of Durkheim, Ginsberg, Hobhouse, MacIver, Max Weber, Malinowski, Toynbee, Westermarck, and Pareto. Little if any reference is made to American contributions to sociology, aside from the work of MacIver. Empirical research in sociology is not included except by a casual reference.

Among the main themes are sociological method, the economic structure, social stratification, public opinion and social control, society as a system of institutions, social change, and social problems. The author defines sociology as "a scientific discipline which obeys the demands of validity implied by the word science." He holds that the brooding which has gone on in the armchair has its strong points and he suggests that "it would be all to the good if certain American sociologists brooded a little more."

The author poses a number of pertinent questions, such as: How can we introduce changes without disrupting social life? How can such unanimity and self-sacrifice as are exhibited in time of war be induced in peacetime? How can the duties and obligations of primary group life be made effective in far-flung secondary group living? It is perhaps in problems like these that this book makes its main contribution.

E.S.B.

THE ILLUSION OF IMMORTALITY. By Corliss Lamont. New York: Philosophical Library, 1950, pp. 316.

Dr. Lamont, a humanist, brings to the reader a discussion of immortality based upon a thorough command of the literature on the subject. He points out that the insistent fact of death has made the problem of immortality one of man's chief concerns, even more important and in many cases prior to belief in a God. Death is shown to be a natural, biological, psychological, and sociological necessity, and any attempt to provide life after death is considered as a compensation or flight from reality. Arguments for immortality are dealt with and shown to be either inconsistent or contradictory. His own arguments, he claims, are based upon scientific methodology, reason, and logic.

Sociologists will be interested in how the immortalist's conception of heaven is conditioned by the culture in which he lives and how an interest in the next life tends to diminish an active concern for this one. Lamont feels that belief in death as the end of all life creates a concern for the present. It emphasizes the common interest and destiny of all men, their ultimate equality and essential brotherhood and it "draws us together in the deepfelt emotions of the heart." Soviet Russia and other countries under Communist control are cited as proof that disbelievers in God and immortality are to be characterized by "an impressive outpouring of energy and devotion," "strength and initiative," "vigorous effort and hard work."

As is so often true in negative approaches to a subject, Lamont fails to give recognition to those immortalists who have a positive attitude toward this world and its social conditions. To believe that extensive programs of amelioration cannot be found among immortalists is to be unenlightened, and to identify one set of beliefs with its acknowledged failings only, while identifying another set of beliefs with its glowing successes, is hardly a scientific means of comparison nor is it reasonable.

L. R. JUST
Tabor College

THE DAYTIME POPULATION OF THE CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT OF CHICAGO. By Gerald William Breese. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1949, pp. vi+267.

The publication of this volume was sponsored by the Chicago Community Inventory of the University of Chicago. The book represents an addition to the series of monographs relating to metropolitan Chicago. No previous study has dealt with the vast daytime population in the central business district of the metropolitan region. After a description of the central business district and its functions, the author analyzes the origins of persons entering the area, and the size and distribution of the population.

Chicago's business district is not just the hub of the city, but a seven-state area considers it the center of dominance. The basic transportation lines funnel a large population into the area, commercial and industrial concerns have their headquarters there, and the area performs governmental, cultural and educational, and residential functions. The study revealed a regularity in the ratios of city and suburban population in the directional sectors of the suburbs and the city. The total number entering the central district daily by all vehicular means was 826,706. The proportions using the different means of transportation from the various sectors of the city and of outlying areas were tabulated, as were the matters of time and distance. Selective factors, accumulation patterns, hourly, daily, and seasonal fluctuations, inbound and outbound movements, distribution of daytime population in the area, evening and all-night population, and related matters were analyzed. The study is a significant contribution to the knowledge of human ecology and demography.

M.H.N.

CREATIVE POWER THROUGH DISCUSSION. By Thomas Fausler. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950, pp. ix+211.

Some of the topics treated in this book are: why conferences fail, listen as well as talk, avoid meaningless chatter, your effect on the group, the effect of the group on you, conflict in conference discussion, straight and crooked thinking in a discussion, when to use the conference discussion method, and an effective conference discussion plan. The book is full of helpful hints, written in an informal, conversational style. The language is simple, direct, and understandable on the secondary school level. The book is lacking in a substantial social-psychological analysis of discussion as an aspect of the communication process. Moreover, the title seems to overstate the content.

E.S.B.

TEMA Y VARIACIONES DE LA PERSONALIDAD. By Juan Roura Parella. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1950, pp. 240.

TEORIA DE LOS AGRUPAMIENTOS SOCIALES. By Lucio Mendieta y Núñez. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1950, pp. 260.

The Institute of Social Research at the National University of Mexico has just brought out two new books in its series, *Cuadernos de Sociología*. Unlike some of the earlier publications, these are not based on new empirical research, but are evidently intended to orient Mexican and other Latin-American scholars. To North Americans these little books will indicate points of view held by some of our Latin-American colleagues and the foreign sources on which they have drawn.

Parella's discussion of personality shows much more influence from certain European philosophers than from sociologists, psychologists, and psychiatrists. His discussion of "the mask" and the "real" personality is reminiscent of Park and Burgess and bears some resemblance to the recent essay by Ichheiser published as a supplement to the *American Journal of Sociology*. However, no reference is made to either.

Mendieta's book draws heavily on the writings of sociologists, including those of the United States. He is concerned with the common characteristics of groups, classification of groups, intergroup relations, and "social mechanization." By this last he means the compulsion put on individuals by such "artificial" groups as army, bureaucracy, trade union, political party, church, corporation, etc.

STUART A. QUEEN
Washington University

PUBLIC OPINION AND PROPAGANDA. By Frederick C. Ison. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1950, pp. xvi+782.

In Part I the importance of public opinion is emphasized and its history and bases are indicated. Part II deals with the instruments that form opinion, such as newspapers, radio, and motion pictures. The institutions which play a role in forming opinion are discussed in the third part, with the family, churches, and schools being given first place. The ways in which the instruments of public opinion are used by employers, employees, and government are presented in Part IV, and the especially difficult subject of the influence of public opinion is tackled in Part V. Part VI discusses the polls and other methods of measuring public opinion and Part VII contains a brief conclusion.

The book is full of facts and opinions. The author draws upon many writers and studies. The range of sources is very wide and sociologists are well represented. Historical data are utilized extensively, but social psychological analyses are not well developed.

Among the many interesting generalizations a few may be cited. (1) "When a community is faced with issues of importance, one may be assured that the schools will be silent." (2) "The philosophy of employers and their methods of operations are, according to employers, the American Way." (3) "In general, the public prefers excitement to sociology." (4) "In nearly all actions, individuals and their organizations are guided by what others think."

The author contends that Americans like radio commercials, that politics may be viewed as "the unifier of conflicting sentiments and interests," that "through elections public opinion controls the composition of legislatures," that public opinion plays a strong role in influencing us to think in terms of economic values, "that public opinion in Western civilization has been conditioned to accept the peace-war cycle much as mankind accepts the coming and going of the seasons."

A review can hardly do justice to a book as extensive as this one. Some confusion may be caused by the fact that the title is the same as that of an earlier treatise by Doob. Further analysis of the large amount of data would have been important, particularly if done from a social-psychological viewpoint.

E.S.B.

A SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH TO EDUCATION. By Lloyd Allen Cook and Elaine Forsyth Cook. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1950, pp. xx+514.

This revision of *Community Backgrounds of Education* is a study of the American community life as it bears upon all phases of school practices and public relations. Topics are considered within the broad framework of community life, ranging from the small rural hamlet to the great metropolis. Concrete examples and case studies abundantly illustrate the close relationship between the community, the child, and the school. The authors describe the reciprocal relationship between the school and the community, the child socialization process, social class in school, and life-centered schooling. "Ways of working on school problems" is one of the most useful sections for those concerned with the modern school, which is followed by a section on "improving teacher education."

The conception of education as a joint school and community function, with the school leading in community studies and in cooperative action, is stressed throughout the book. Sociological knowledge and techniques are applied to the analysis and understanding of school problems. It is fundamentally a casebook, a problems approach to social education, but it is not a book on social problems. Its concern is chiefly with the practical problems and procedures of social education. The suggested projects and selected bibliographies are further aids to teachers and students in understanding their tasks. It is one of the best texts in educational sociology.

M.H.N.

REHEARSAL FOR DESTRUCTION. A Study of Political Anti-Semitism in Imperial Germany. By Paul W. Massing. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949, pp. xviii+341.

Dr. Massing's work, one of a series of five integrated studies designed to analyze anti-Semitism from different vantage points, presents an absorbing study of the social, economic, political, and cultural framework which fashioned the anti-Semitism of pre-Hitler Germany.

The era covered is from 1871 to 1914, particularly the period prior to the turn of the present century. It was within this time that Germany's relatively recent industrialization had provoked fluctuations in the social structure which, though familiar to the older industrialized countries, were new to the German populace at that time. In one vital respect, German industrialization differed from that in countries like England and the United States: it was not preceded by the development of a strong middle class but was built directly on a semifeudal basis. As a result, it introduced uncertainties into long-established caste and class relationships and promoted the fear of loss of status. Add to these problems the afflictions of agricultural distress, stock market speculation, and prolonged depression, and all the socioeconomic ingredients for anti-Semitism were at hand.

The use of anti-Semitism as a tool for political and economic ends by the various political parties laid the foundation for a more virulent racial anti-Semitism which was to have its tragic culmination in Nazism. In this connection, it is well to note that in the fifty years preceding the advent of Hitler, there was little *overt* violence against Jews, but the flood of anti-Semitic literature and oratory laid the attitudinal groundwork and superstructure of social values sociologically prerequisite

to the Hitler regime. The possible significance of current passive anti-Semitism for the future social structure of this country, in the light of German history, should not go unheeded.

The last section of the book deals with the treatment of anti-Semitism by the socialists, and their general relationship with the Jews. In order to discuss this, Massing had perforce to give attention to the theories motivating the German socialists. Though brief, this analysis is an extremely astute evaluation and is by no means the least of the contributions of the volume. The socialists treated anti-Semitism as part of their general theory of the nature of capitalistic society—a theory based on empirical developments in England and erringly carried over by analogy into the German scene. Massing shows brilliantly that the socialists “missed the boat” in their interpretation of Germany’s political and economic future, and this misinterpretation was reflected in their effects upon anti-Semitism. Though personally scorning anti-Semitism, and refusing to employ it even when it might have been advantageous to do so, the socialists failed to offer a program which would appeal to, or assist, the distressed lower middle class, and hence did nothing to avert or assuage the resentments and dissatisfactions of the latter, whose grievances were then channeled against the Jews.

Dr. Massing has done yeoman service, not only in pointing out that Nazism arose from definite historical conditions, and not *de novo*, but also in etching, in stark detail, the mechanisms of the process for all to see and understand. It is to be hoped that the lesson will not be wasted on those who, today, would gosestep in the Nazi tradition.

MELVIN NADELL

DRAWING-ROOM CONVERSION. A Sociological Account of the Oxford Group Movement. By Allan W. Eister. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1950, pp. vii+236.

The Oxford Group movement is described in relation to the historical period in which it appeared, to the need which the religious experiences provided by the Group were designed to satisfy, and to the way that the problems of a culture were interpreted by it and resolved within it. Printed material, interviews with leaders and followers of the movement, and personal observations of various groups in action provided the chief sources of information for the study.

The main purpose of the movement has not been to solve problems but to “change lives.” Guidance and the practice of sharing experiences are important patterns of the group. After tracing the history of the

movement, which began as a quiet venture in "personal evangelism" by Frank N. D. Buckman and grew, between 1921 and 1939, into one of the largest and most skillfully directed evangelical movements during recent times, the author analyzes the Oxford Group in terms of the organization and structure of the movement, the varieties of religious experiences which the promoters and followers have, and the ideas of personal and social problems expressed by the participants.

The sociological analysis of "life-changing," "soul surgery," the "Rising Tide," and "Moral Rearmament," and the use of sociological tools of analysis constitute important contributions to the understanding of modern religious and social patterns. Such movements flourish best in times of crises, although a war may detract from their success. The author's observations about the movement are interestingly and objectively presented. The theoretical formulation of cult patterns of conduct and other attributes as a configuration may be applied to other religious movements.

M.H.N.

CURRENT TRENDS IN INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By Wayne Dennis and others. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1949, pp. v+197.

Eight lectures on Industrial Psychology in the College of the University of Pittsburgh are offered here. The lectures were given by Professors Wayne Dennis, Carroll L. Shartle, Daniel Katz, and John C. Flanagan, William McGehee of the Marshall Field Company, Brent Baxter of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway, Orlo L. Crissey of General Motors, and Harold C. Taylor of the W. E. Upjohn Institute for Community Research.

Professor Dennis discusses certain historical and cultural backgrounds of industrial psychology in America and finds that the industrial psychologist devoting full time to working for industry is a rarity. This, he believes, is due in part to the lack of awareness on the part of management and labor that the scientific study of human behavior and human relations has anything of value to offer.

General Motors' Orlo L. Crissey points out that, while industry has conducted considerable research into machines and equipment, it has devoted considerably less time, care, and attention to human skills and abilities. Mr. McGehee trains his sights upon the programs for industrial training techniques and announces that industrial executives have not been indoctrinated into the necessity of careful evaluation of training and other personnel activities. Brent Baxter declares that the creation

and maintenance of healthy human relations require certain kinds of behavior on the part of management, i.e., "The philosophy of attitudes and skills of all members of line management, as they are reflected in their everyday behavior, are the ultimate determinants of the quality of the human relations in the organization." All the lectures are excellent and it is a good thing to have them in print. M.J.V.

RURAL SOCIAL SYSTEMS. A Textbook in Rural Sociology and Anthropology. By Charles P. Loomis and J. Annan Beegle. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950, pp. xxii+876.

Rural sociology has developed rapidly during the present century. Numerous documents and textbooks with varying emphases have appeared and the approaches to the subject have varied considerably. Of late a more strictly sociological approach to the analysis of rural life has become evident. The book by Loomis and Beegle combines both sociological and anthropological material, which is integrated and organized around "social systems," for they believe that such an organization supplies an approach more adequate than others in meeting the demands of science. A social system is both concrete and abstract. It includes the elements of (1) roles, (2) status, (3) authority, (4) rights, (5) ends and objectives, (6) norms, and (7) territoriality, or the locus and space requirements.

In analyzing social systems the authors state that such systems are "organizations composed of persons who interact more with members than with non-members when operating to attain the systems' objectives." The ends or objectives are the changes which the leaders and members expect to accomplish through the functioning of the system, and the norms are the "rules of the game." Value orientation is very important. The social structure includes roles, authority patterns, and stratification. Territoriality implies social space. To point up the differences in value orientation of social systems, the authors make extensive use of the concepts "familistic Gemeinschaft" and "contractural Gesellschaft."

The chapters are arranged under the following types of groups: family and informal, locality, religious, educational, political and occupational, and rural service agencies. All are regarded as social systems. Each chapter contains a mass of concrete data and there is hardly a page without ample footnotes to sources dealing with the subject. Altogether, 208 figures and 74 tables, as well as numerous illustrations and examples, are used to clarify the detail aspects of the social systems. The book is designed chiefly as a textbook, but it may be used also as a sourcebook. M.H.N.

SOCIAL WELFARE

LABOR AND MANAGEMENT IN A COMMON ENTERPRISE. By Dorothea D. Schweinitz. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949, pp. xiii + 186.

Under the auspices of the War Production Board, nearly five thousand labor-management committees were established to increase the quantity and improve the quality of production as well as to give a better tone to the spirit of employer-employee relationships. Miss De Schweinitz was chief of the Committee of Standards Branch of the War Production Drive Division of the War Production Board from March 1942 to the end of the war. This book contains her review of the effectiveness of the programs adopted as a result of the work of the Board and its Committee. Problem sharing, teamwork, and the will to cooperate have been underscored as the essentials in any good joint committee enterprise.

Varying in success during the war, these committees did much to attain their objectives. Since the end of the war, there has been no governmental agency to promote or assist in the development of similar committees, and neither employers nor national unions have promoted them, although in a few collective bargaining contracts, some unions have sought to include clauses calling for joint conferences on matters of production. The author regrets this, for with jobs becoming more and more mechanized, human relationships have become increasingly impersonal. War experience demonstrated that successful committee operations assured the employers that workers were really interested in the plants and their contributions to the war effort. The content and meaningfulness of the jobs were clearly indicated. The book is a sort of plea to both labor and management not to forget the experience of the wartime committees in fostering cooperation.

M.J.V.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS. By Robert Geib Foster. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950, pp. xix + 316.

This revised edition of a text brings the subject matter up to date. The major divisions deal with personality as developed in relation to marriage, the immediate preludes to marriage (dating, courting, and mate selection), how to evolve and maintain a satisfactory family life, and the relation of the family to democratic society. For those who are familiar with the literature on the subject, little new information except case material is to be found. It is simply written and general in content.

M.H.N.

MANAGEMENT BEHAVIOR AND FOREMAN ATTITUDE. David N. Ulrich, Donald R. Booz, and Paul R. Lawrence. Boston: Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, 1950, pp. vii+56.

This is an excellent case study of some of the effects of management behavior on the attitude and performance of the foreman. The authors stress the need for effective communication up and down the plant hierarchy. They suggest that there should be greater emphasis on finding out what the employee is trying to tell management, instead of concentrating on management's message to the workers.

The book will be valuable for students and for persons in the factory alike. The case study method may help supervisory personnel to make concrete applications of sound industrial relations theory. General principles are also given that will provide broad frames of reference for considering specific aspects of industrial relations.

ROBERT CURRY

RADIO, TELEVISION, AND SOCIETY. By Charles A. Siepman. New York: Oxford University Press, 1950, pp. xiii+409.

The book is divided into two parts, dealing with the systems of broadcasting and the social implications of radio and television. The development of radio in the United States is briefly sketched, chiefly from economic and organizational angles, including a discussion of the Federal Communications Commission and radio industry. Listening in America is described in greater detail, and the differences between our system of broadcasting and those of Great Britain and Canada are indicated.

In the section on the social aspects of the new mediums of communication, the author discusses the place of radio in democracy and in education, world listening, and the development and possibilities of television. He takes excursions into such fields as propaganda, public opinion, and freedom of speech in theory and practice. The book is replete with concrete and recent data, much of which is drawn from printed sources familiar to those who have studied radio and television. It is written in an interesting manner, obviously intended for the popular reader. The book is not as biased as the author's earlier work, *Radio's Second Chance*; but, in analyzing the effects of broadcasting on the outlook and behavior of listeners, and the systems under which it operates, he seems to be more concerned with advancing arguments, which are vigorously stated, than in objectively presenting facts. The book is fundamentally a critical commentary on radio and television as they operate today.

M.H.N.

THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE YEARBOOK, 1950. Edited by Cecil R. Crews. Chicago: The Cooperative League of the U.S.A., 1950, pp. viii + 200.

Mr. Crews and all associated with him in preparing the materials for this Yearbook deserve a large measure of appreciation for a fine and greatly needed piece of work. It is the first book of this kind that has been published since 1939, and hence it is virtually a history of the different aspects of the cooperative movement in the United States for the ten-year period from 1939 to 1949. Study of the cooperatives in the United States shows marked progress, a definite maturing in a number of ways, a keen alertness to a misdirected opposition, and various problems that arise from expansion and size.

The work of the Cooperative League of the U.S.A. stands out (1) for its almost single-handed activities in serving as a strong and effective integrating force among the many and varied member cooperative organizations, (2) for the excellent public relations program that is setting forth the cooperatives as genuine democratic assets in our regional and national life, and (3) for the way in which it is putting cooperative education on the map, because, no matter how economically efficient it is at a given time, no cooperative association can long remain cooperatively efficient without appropriate educational activities.

The eight parts of the book deal with (1) cooperation in a general way in North America, (2) national organizations of an educational and informational nature, (3) national organizations of a business and finance type, (4) regional cooperatives in the United States, (5) provincial organizations in Canada, (6) cooperative insurance organizations, and (7) major nonmember regionals. The statistical tables and fifteen photographs of Section 8 add illuminating touches. Because of its alphabetical arrangement an index would have proved useful. A fine publishing job has been executed by the Cooperative Publishing Association of Superior.

E.S.B.

CO-OPERATIVES IN NORWAY. By O. B. Grimley. Oslo, Norway: The Cooperative Union and Wholesale Society, 1950, pp. 178.

Although born and raised in the United States, the author has lived more than twenty years in Norway and is able to appreciate the nature of the cooperative movement in Norway and, at the same time, to view it with objectivity. The cooperatives are in part a result of the fact that "new occasions teach new duties" and of the related fact that "time makes ancient good uncouth."

The book gives space to the consumers' societies in Norway which were first inaugurated under the direction of Marcus Trane in 1851. However, it was Ole Delhi, an Oslo lawyer, who succeeded in uniting the consumers' societies in 1906 in The Cooperative Union and Wholesale Society, or N.K.L., as it is generally known. Its Norwegian name is Norges Kooperative Landsforening. N.K.L. has three major departments—the Wholesale, the Organization and Information, and the Auditing and Consultative. N.K.L. has been effective in holding down monopolies and "profit greed in the old economic order." Its Department of Organization and Information has kept alive "the fire of idealism," prevented the cooperatives from stagnating "in the monotonous humdrum of daily business," kept the principles of economic democracy to the fore, strengthened the faith of the old members, and helped to change new members from customers to convinced cooperators.

Considerable space is given to the agricultural cooperatives, to the fishermen's cooperatives, and to the housing cooperatives. Attention is accorded the problem of adjusting the differences in viewpoint of the agricultural and the consumers' cooperatives.

The treatment of the cooperatives in Norway is sympathetic and understanding. Themes which might have been given relatively more extended attention are the educational work of N.K.L. and of its Congresses, and of the cooperative school at Sandvika. Likewise, the development of cooperative housing in Norway merits enlarged attention. A map and several fine photographs add substantially to the value of the book as a descriptive work on cooperation.

E.S.B.

CAREERS FOR YOUNG AMERICANS—IN THE ARMY AND AFTER.

By Reuben Horchow. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1950, pp. 226.

Colonel Horchow has written this book for young people and their parents so that they may obtain a general idea of the types of employment found in the Army. Some forty-eight Army career fields are described with their related civilian opportunities. The jobs include ammunition supply specialist, still photography laboratory technician, and psychiatric social work technician—a list which indicates the wide range of job possibilities. A realistic description of Army life and the Army career system is given. The "real pay" (cash salary, food, housing, clothing, health and accident insurance, annuity policy, and a favorable income tax) of a soldier in the lowest rank is computed at \$3,800 annually. The book deserves the attention of counselors and others for its assistance in vocational guidance.

ROBERT CURRY

LIVING IN THE CITY. By A. Elwood Adams and Edward Everett Walker. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1949, pp. x+216.

The authors have succeeded in discussing city life and problems in a simple and interesting manner, readily understandable to junior high school and high school students. They discuss why and how cities grow, the transportation and communication problems of modern cities, the food and water supply, housing, various public services and protective functions, business organization, educational agencies, recreation, government, and planning. Each chapter contains photographs, tables, word lists, suggestions for students to write their own chapters, and problems for activity and discussion.

M.H.N.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By Theodore M. Newcomb. New York: The Dryden Press, 1950, pp. xi+690.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. An Integrative Interpretation. By S. Stansfeld Sargent. New York: The Ronald Press, 1950, pp. x+519.

Truly, as Professor Newcomb writes in the Introduction of his new book, there is no end to the writing of texts in social psychology. And yet, there is every justification for the writing of one as good as his appears to be. Here is a nice synthesis of the points of view of the sociologist, the psychologist, and the cultural anthropologist with some attention paid to the contributions of the psychiatrist. Indeed, the author points out that his book began nearly twenty years ago when he discovered that he "could not be an adequate teacher of human psychology without becoming a bit of a sociologist, too." His discussions show that now there is far more than just a "bit" of the sociologist in him.

Admirably organized, the text first underlines the nature and scope of social influence upon the developing human being, and then proceeds logically to an inquiry into motives and attitudes. Social norms and roles lead into the presentation of the nature of personality, followed by a good concluding section on group membership. All this furnishes an exceedingly well shaped figure for present-day social psychology.

The various chapters are written with an evenness of interest that is most welcome in any text, and full advantage has been taken of recent experimental research by social scientists in the elaboration of materials. Especially excellent is the chapter devoted to individual adaptation to role prescriptions. A wealth of illustrative materials not only lends considerable strength to the book but succeeds in making it both a sprightly and a meaningful one.

Professor Sargent's text starts out with a brief but excellent historical sketch of social psychology, pointing out the present necessity for integrating the individual and group approaches, i.e., "studying social behavior in terms of the participating individuals." In it, he renders a good service for students of social psychology, namely, that of presenting some of the methodology, past and present, which has been employed in the development of the subject.

The book, like Newcomb's, is logically organized and arranged somewhat similarly. Part I deals with the social forces "socializing" the individual, followed by discussions of the dynamics and the patterning of social behavior and concluding with the application of social psychological theory toward an understanding of social phenomena. Professor Sargent states that his book "grew out of a collaboration between a psychologist and a sociologist in teaching a course in social psychology."

The result of bringing together psychological, sociological, anthropological, and psychiatric techniques and understanding is altogether a happy one. The selectivity of materials from these several disciplines is at best a difficult task and always subject to much criticism on the part of those who have leanings or biases in another direction. Most of the illustrative materials chosen are purposively acceptable, but there are undoubtedly some better and more recent materials for the study of industrial tensions than those of the Mayo school. From the works of a good many people well known in experimental and clinical psychology and social psychology, material has been taken and used effectively.

M.J.V.

THE THEORY OF CAMPING. An Introduction to Camping in Education.

By Frank L. Irwin. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1950, pp. x+178.

The phenomenal growth of organized camping calls for new appraisal of the objectives and techniques of camping, the group processes in camps, the camp program and administration, the function of counselors, and the like. This is what the author does, assisted by E. E. Altick, who discusses administrative problems, and R. E. Carlson, who wrote the chapter on "Day Camping." Concrete examples of public school camps are described. Before the war, over 4,300 organized camps were operated in the United States.

According to the Educational Policies Commission, the goals or objectives of education may be classified as (1) self-realization, (2) human relationships, (3) economic efficiency, and (4) civic responsibility.

Camping contributes much toward the attainment of these objectives, provided the leaders understand the campers and plan a program to meet their basic needs. Group life in camps is democracy in action. The book is of special value to camp leaders. In addition, it provides for recreation leaders, physical education students, and others a basic survey of the subject.

M.H.N.

CHALLENGING YEARS. *The Autobiography of Stephen Wise.* New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1949, pp. 323.

In the pages of this book is mirrored the life of one who presents a splendid example of a magnificent personality and dynamic leadership. It is the story of a man who was blessed with oratorical talents, an imposing figure who played an active and important role in the various stirring social movements of the past half century.

In the Foreword, the author Rabbi Stephen S. Wise states that his autobiography is heterocentric. "I have been witness of a great epoch," an epoch that began with peace, freedom, and security. After two world wars this "epoch may rise again to peace and freedom or culminate in the war to end peace and freedom—if not humanity." Completed shortly before the author's death, this book contains a series of reminiscences and episodes touching on various aspects of Wise's activities as a rabbi and as a public-minded citizen, revealing most vividly the magnetic personality traits and qualities of his dynamic leadership.

In the early days of his ministry in Portland, Oregon, Rabbi Wise took an active interest in problems of social, educational, and civic nature. He was one of the very few clergymen who used his pulpit as a weapon against injustice and social ills. An incident that reveals young Wise's convictions of the true function of the religious leader occurred during the steel strike in 1919. Rabbi Wise fought against the Steel Trusts, and in his historic sermon at Carnegie Hall, he vigorously assailed Judge Gary and his associates as "robber barons." In those days Wise was planning a million-dollar drive for the erection of a great building. On the morning of his address, he remarked to an intimate friend, "My synagogue building is going up in smoke today." A wave of resignations of congregation members followed the speech and his proposed Temple remained unbuilt.

The late New York Mayor LaGuardia once remarked, "When Rabbi Wise talks about mayors there is usually a run on Atlantic steamship accommodations."

Interesting are the chapters on Wise's siding with labor, working as a shipyard laborer in Stanford during World War I, his friendship with Presidents Wilson, Taft, and Roosevelt, with the Supreme Court Judges Brandeis and Cardozo, and with other prominent figures. Space does not permit the enumeration of the movements and causes of which Wise was the leading figure and chief exponent. A good portion of the volume is devoted to the two chief great causes, democracy and Zionism, to which he gave selfless devotion. Deeply moving are his words about the Founder of Zionism, Dr. Theodor Herzl, who "bore himself with the simplicity of a Son of Kings and Prophets" and who tenderly put his arm around Wise and prophetically remarked, "I shall not live to see the Jewish State, but you, Wise, as a young man, you will live to see the Jewish State." To that the author adds, "I thank God that it was given to me to live until the glorious day of May 14, 1948, when out of centuries of suffering and persecution, our prayers and hope and labor, the prophecy of Theodor Herzl was at last fulfilled." On April 19, 1949, a few months after he penned these words, immediately following his 75th birthday, Rabbi Stephen Wise died.

To read this eloquently told life story is to become acquainted with great events and movements of recent social history as well as with a commanding personality and dynamic leader. BERNARD COHEN

PRINCIPLES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY. By Clement S. Mihonovich. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1950, pp. vi+138.

This is one of the most concise summaries of the studies of delinquency, dealing with the problem of delinquency and who the delinquents are, the etiology of delinquency, the nature of preventive programs, and the treatment of offenders. Sometimes only a few paragraphs are devoted to a topic, but a great deal of material is packed into them and the sources are referred to in extensive footnotes. The selected bibliography contains most of the standard works on the subject, also a brief list of books on the background of Christian interpretation.

It is obviously difficult to select from the relatively large output of recent literature on the subject of delinquency the most significant sources. As stated by Joseph Husslein, General Editor of the Science and Culture Series, of which this volume is a part, the author aimed to describe systematically the delinquent boy and girl, to present the chief causes of youthful quasi-criminal and antilegal behavior, and to offer a constructive and comprehensive program of safeguarding youth.

M.H.N.

THE CHURCH IN THE WORLD. By Richard R. Caemmerer. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1949, pp. viii+110.

This book proposes to redefine and apply the strategy which the New Testament suggests in the various areas of daily living. It emphasizes how the church and the individual believer can make their Christian influence felt in the family circle, the professions, and the community.

RACES AND CULTURE

THE JEWS: THEIR HISTORY, CULTURE, AND RELIGION. Edited by Louis Finkelstein. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949, 2 volumes, pp. 1,431.

These volumes, a comprehensive and authoritative work on the Jews, include essays by some thirty-five scholars, experts in their respective fields, and cover the most important aspects in the life and culture of the Jewish people from earliest known time to the present. The work is divided into four parts of unequal length.

The first and second parts include monographs on Biblical and Talmudic periods, important aspects of Jewish literature, Jewish education, relation of Judaism to philosophy, ethics, democracy, and social welfare. The third part, entitled "The Sociology and Demography of the Jews," is of special interest to the sociologist and student of Jewish community organization. Professor Melvil J. Herskovits, in his monograph "Who Are the Jews?" cites statistics, scientific ethnological data, and interesting opinions of leading anthropologists. Surveys of Jewish migrations in the past hundred years, the economic structure of Jewry, and its statistics, are given by Jacob Lestschinsky, Nathan Reich, and U. Z. Engelman. An illuminating survey of the historical development, the structure, and the functioning of the social welfare and fund raising activities of the Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds is "The American Jewish Community" by Samuel C. Kohs. The fourth section contains a clear and lucid exposition of the Jewish religion, its beliefs and practices, by the editor, Dr. Louis Finkelstein.

However, one regrets to note, in such a brilliant and comprehensive work as this, the absence of a sociological treatment of the new trends and processes in the changing Jewish group life, such as differentiation, conflict, accommodation, and group integration. The editor seems to be aware of this, and in his prefatory note he expresses the hope that "the

chapters dealing with the demography of the Jews should be considered only as 'prolegomena,' not as complete studies" and that "they will be supplemented by further inquiries and ultimately lead schools of higher Jewish learning to introduce into their curricula such Jewish Social Studies."

The scope of this work and the scholarly, expert treatment of the subjects, the valuable references, notes and bibliography render the work invaluable to scholars, students, and laymen alike.

BERNARD COHEN

YIDDEN UN ANDERE ETNISHE GRUPES IN DIE FAREINIGTE SHTATEN. (*Jews and Other Ethnic Groups in the United States*). By Charles Bezalel Sherman. New York: Undzer Veg., 1948, pp. 424.

This book on ethnic minorities, a result of many years of painstaking effort and research, is divided into three parts. In the first part, entitled "The Majority," the author reviews the early development of the country, its first immigrants, the Anglo Saxon Protestants, who he believes gradually developed a kind of "tyranny of the majority."

The second part deals with the Irish, Germans, Poles, Italians, Scandinavians, and other immigrant groups. The author discusses their efforts at adaptation to the new environment, showing that with the third generation of the immigrant the absorption in the melting pot is usually completed. He also discusses at great length the social interaction processes of conflict and accommodation as utilized in the adaptation of these immigrant ethnic groups.

In the third part, Mr. Sherman reviews the development of the American Jewish community, discussing the social and economic changes in the life of the Jewish immigrants, the processes of stratification, urbanization, change in population size, identification and integration within the Jewish community. The author observes that, while other ethnic minority groups in America in time lose their group identity, the Jewish group retains its group consciousness and identity much longer, as evidenced by the fact that positions of leadership within the group are assumed by those of the second and even of the third generation Americans of Jewish ancestry.

The book, which, in the words of the author, attempts to "give an analysis of reality and an evaluation of processes," contains much sociological data and material and is a valuable contribution to the field of social research pertaining to ethnic groups generally and to the American Jewish community in particular.

BERNARD COHEN